



fifth estate



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Kids ~ Say NO to Drugs Government

Media manufactured crises come and go so quickly these days that it is often hard to comment on one before it has disappeared from immediate concern. At the height of frenzy about a particular issue—whether it is terrorism, the space shuttle crash or most recently, drugs—the unitary message of power appears to command all thought. Nothing seems to exist outside of the official messages: we are all portrayed as angry or sad or worried.

Of course, just as suddenly as it appeared, the crisis passes. But no matter how short-lived its tenure, it leaves an important social residue which remains secure in the wings eagerly awaiting its next call to center stage.

The terrorism fright no longer commands major attention or concern at the moment, but "anti-terrorist" measures—more cops, more searches, ID tags, metal detectors, etc.—have become an accepted part of daily life, universally recognized as "necessary" even though the terrorism they protect against has never even been a reality in this country (see p.24).

Often there is a convenient conjuncture of these pseudo-events which goes unnoticed as evidenced recently by the almost universal quiet about what amounted to a U.S. invasion of Bolivia as part of the Reagan administration's hysterical "War on Drugs." The anti-drug crusade has set the stage for a variety of domestic repressive measures, but it is folly not to realize that it will also be put at the service of Reagan's desire to pacify the U.S.'s historic sphere of influence south of the border.

Terrorism and Drugs

Under an agreement, typical of the banana-republic type relations the U.S. has traditionally had with Latin America, Bolivia permitted the stationing of 174 American troops in its country to ostensibly help in eradicating its endemic cocaine trafficking. Since Reagan has accused Nicaragua of both terrorism and drug dealing, it seems amazing that the Central American anti-intervention movement uttered nary a peep about Bolivia in what should be seen clearly as a dress rehearsal for fur-

ther invasions of the area.

For instance, Bolivia's neighbor to the northwest, Peru, also a major source of the cocaine flooding U.S. markets, is plagued both by economic instability and a growing rural guerrilla movement, the maoist *Sendero Luminoso*. One should not show great surprise if, during the next U.S. incursion to "get at the source" in South America, the drug raiders suddenly wind up in battle with armed Peruvian rebels as well.

The U.S. "incursion" into Bolivia (a word used by the media to avoid the nastiness of the more honest term, "invasion," as in "incursion into Cambodia"—1972) wasn't without its problems. There were Oct. 11 news reports of angry Bolivian townspeople of Santa Ana chasing away government troops, who along with U.S. soldiers and drug agents had been raiding jungle-based cocaine labs.

This particular expedition, the first foray into a town, was led by the Leopards, a Bolivian anti-coke squad, trained and paid for by the United States, and roundly hated by local villagers for their brutality and for interfering with their livelihood.

Press accounts said about 80 Leopards and 30 Americans entered the town and began searching homes and cars and questioning residents about the whereabouts of several major *narcotraficantes*.

About an hour after the raid began, some 3,000 residents, drawn by the constant pealing of church bells, surrounded the raiders and began shouting, "Kill them, kill them, don't let them leave," and "Yankee go home, kill the Yankees!"

The Yankees got the message quick and split for their waiting Black Hawk helicopters, leaving their Bolivian stooges to the tender mercies of the crowd. The Leopards managed to get aboard an air force troop carrier but were blocked from take-off by the villagers who surrounded the plane and refused to move even after

the troops fired tear gas and bullets into the air.

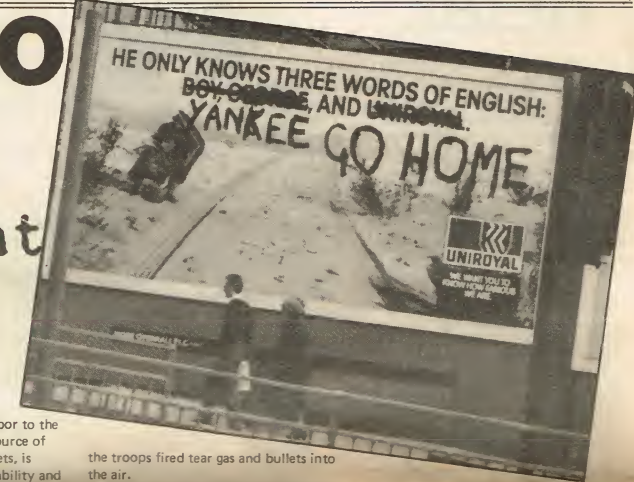
Finally, the town's mayor was permitted aboard to see that no residents had been arrested, and the troops beat it back to La Paz with their tails between their legs.

Dragged Into A Cash Economy

Shortly after the Santa Ana incident, the U.S. troops left Bolivia as scheduled, but the dust from the raging townspeople, the fleeing troops and their airborne machines of destruction, drifts back to Earth with many unsettling implications. Naturally, now that the *norteamericanos* have left, business will return to normal in the cocaine industry, complete with official Bolivian complicity, the Yankee intervention having only put a momentary crimp in production.

But what of the invaders from the North, far from the center of the Empire, raging through Indian land, like Cortez's small band pillaging Mexico, hearing that almost universal phrase, "Yankee Go Home"? These words, which, in fact, may be the only English the people of that tropical flatland village knew, encapsulates their hatred for the imperialist looting and domination of their region, but are also words which mock us so eloquently.

Perhaps these people of Bolivia, dragged into the world cash economy from their earth centered lives to supply the U.S. with its poisonous drugs, sense the awful truth of the matter: that the Yankees have no home. They know the invaders came from a land which isn't theirs, which was stolen from its original inhabitants and destroyed in order to create a hideous land of factories and shopping malls. They know that beneath the sharp pleats of his uniform and behind the arro-



gance of his demeanor, the Yankee (the very origin of the word is lost, perhaps a diminutive of the Dutch name, Jan—Jan-keel is rootless, that he pushes everywhere into the world and even into space, but never finds rest or a home.

One result of this homelessness is that we are a nation of drug addicts where mass feelings of estrangement, boredom, rage and terror are barely constrained. As it is, those emotions escape in a thousand different ways, but to many, daily life is tolerable only through mass drugging, both legal and illicit. Altered brain chemistry is needed to pump us up, calm us down, stop the hurt, give some juice to a culture which substitutes wage work and consumption for a connection with the rhythms of the planet.

That tens of millions use drugs and alcohol suggests quite cogently that the official model of conformity and happiness is almost universally shunned—anything seems preferable to facing daily life with one's raw nerves exposed.

We quite simply can't go on like this either as individuals or as a people. The human spirit demands a fundamental relationship with the earth, a solidarity with others, and a life of meaning and intensity. The ecstatic states and momentary periods of bliss induced by drugs or alcohol are but shallow reminders of the rich enchantments that our species is capable of.

Perhaps the saying, "In a society that has abolished all adventure, the only adventure is abolishing that society," is the best departure point for reclaiming our human capacities. Ultimately, we must re-invent the world we have lost or continue our hopeless wandering.

bits of the world in brief



Although Robert Chechacz and Tomasz Lupanow remain jailed as Polish political prisoners, international support for them has grown (See FE Summer 1985). Though only trying to disarm him, the two were convicted of killing a militiaman just after the crackdown in Poland in 1982. Their support group has a newsletter available as well as posters and postcards from Polish Workers Solidarity Committee, Box 284, Main Street, St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada L2R 6T7.

This issue of their bulletin contains information on the creation of the "Fighting Youth Federation" which is the only group in Poland to have supported freedom for Robert and Tomasz. The organization was created by high-school students from Warsaw, but has spread beyond the capital. A national congress was held, according to a Solidarity bulletin published earlier in the year, with youth from several cities in Poland in attendance. The Federation has established links with the Movement for an Alternative Society which publishes the libertarian review, "Homek," in Gdansk.

Some people in the peripheral nations have learned the lessons of Bhopal well. On the 23rd of June, 1986, more than 100,000 people prevented the proposed opening of a metals processing plant in Phuket, Thailand.

Thailand's Industry Minister had ar-

rived for a public inquiry into whether the plant, intended to process tantalum, a rare metal found in tin slag which is used to make components for the computer and aerospace industries and which would have used toxic chemicals and produced radioactive waste, would be allowed to open.

The people of the area pre-empted the public inquiry by mobbing the Minister, attacking the hotel at which he was staying and later burning down the \$75 million plant, preventing fire engines from dealing with the fire, which destroyed the plant after a few hours.



Gila monster
(1½ ft. long)

The Trust Group Center Abroad (foreign section of the Moscow-based peace and anti-nuclear power Trust Group) has embarked on a project to send couriers to the USSR to bring them much needed information.

People in the USSR specifically requested information on radiation precautions (that was lacking in the Soviet press) in the wake of Chernobyl. This was life and death information—not merely an intellectual exercise. To that end a team of Western Trust Group members was sent, and they successfully completed the action.

On August 3, 1986 two Americans, Bob McGlynn and Anne-Marie Hendrickson of New York City, two Britons, David Barnsdale and Peggy Walford, along with a member of the Moscow Trust Group, Nina Kovalenko, were detained in Moscow by the KGB for handing out smuggled leaflets that gave details on how one can protect oneself from radioactive fallout.

Our motivation was Chernobyl, but the action coincided with the atomic bombing of Japan. Our placards read—in Russian and in English—"Peace and environmental safety for all. No more Hiroshimas, No more Chernobyls."

The action was an unequalled success in that we were able to hand out almost all the leaflets. There was an insignificant amount of repression. There was world press attention, and the attention (as far as we've seen) has been objective, not Cold War. A message got across that there is a unity of like-minded peace and environmental activists from both East and West, and that "detente from below" is an objective, positive option. We demonstrated that such actions can be pulled off with careful planning.

This was the first time American and

Soviet activists had done such a thing in the USSR. Other Moscow Trust Group members accompanied us. It was a unified action.

The action showed the conservative Western public that there is something positive in the Soviet Bloc (The Trust Group) that rejects Cold War militarism and embraces grassroots contacts; militarism becomes irrelevant as people from both sides join in mutually supportive relations.

The "umbrella of protection" that Western activists provide groups like the Trust Group works. Our many contacts with the Trust Group have prevented the KGB from completely suppressing the Group.

All of the above costs, though! Our "Mission to Moscow" has put us thousands in debt, the main expense being travel and phone. All involved in the for-

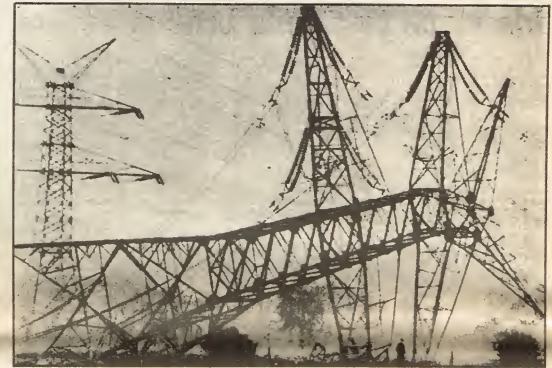
mation of this project are either poor or out of work. Money was borrowed and is owed. We do not have the resources that other peace groups have. This is to be an ongoing project, and couriers must be sent at regular intervals.

Please help us. Additional monies can help send others.

Please make checks payable to Bob McGlynn. (Sorry, the Trust Group Center Abroad is still in the midst of getting a bank account.) Please send checks to Bob McGlynn, 528 Fifth St., Brooklyn, NY 11215 (phone: 718-499-7720). If anyone has press clippings on our action please send them too.

—Sergei Batovrin, Bob McGlynn, Anne-Marie Hendrickson of the Trust Group Center Abroad

A pamphlet detailing the activities of the Moscow Trust Group is available from Bob or from the FE Bookservice.



Sabotaged electrical pylons at Wackersdorf, West Germany. Photo/Black Flag

Germany Resists Nukes

Since Chernobyl, attacks in West Germany against nuclear plants, military bases, and other megatech projects have increased. Targets include firms supplying nuclear power stations, construction companies, energy suppliers, technology firms, banks and department stores, the railways and post office, and the army and police. The decentralized nature of the attacks is illustrated by the varied groups claiming responsibility. The Wolfsburg-based "Cut the Crap Now!" threw rancid butter bombs into bank foyers last summer, and shortly afterwards the "Eidelweiss Bandits for the Formation of a Bavarian Guerrilla Force" blew up an electricity pylon near the atomic plant at Grundremmingen. Another group, "Bugs Bunny and the Digger Killers," set fire to a Caterpillar bulldozer at Muenster.

Apparently, not a week goes by without such attacks, and many electrical pylons have been toppled. One such target is the proposed nuclear reprocessing plant at Wackersdorf, a town in Bavaria. If construction goes on as planned, it will go on line in 1995.

Last spring there were mass demonstrations at Wackersdorf, in which local, ostensibly conservative Bavarian farmers joined with radical ecologists, autonomes, and anarchists in battling the police at the site. On the first day of the demonstration, two to three thousand people

gathered and attacked the fence. An electrical pylon was knocked down.

In an account in the anarchist paper, *Black Flag* (BM Hurricane, London WC1N 3XX England), one participant described the several days of violent confrontations as partially a reaction against Chernobyl, which "had made us angry and gave [the police] a bunker mentality." By noon on Saturday some ten thousand people were by the fence, including a thousand masked militants. As helicopters flew overhead, the crowd approached the fence and attacked about fifty cops, driving them back inside the compound. The account follows:

Right from the start stones flew over the fence. Inside were 40 water/gas cannons . . . and literally thousands of pigs.

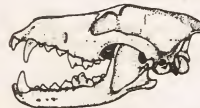
We set out to cut the fence, made of half-inch steel rods, criss crossed with steel bars and solid metal posts every five meters. The cannons blasted us with water and CS gas mixture, but received a veritable hail of stones, paint, wood, catapulted ball bearings and the odd molotov cocktail in return. Police with bullhorns appealed in vain for the "respectable" demonstrators to split from the terrorist radicals, as local farmers got the stone supply well organized, and while families began masking up to fight.

Piling tree trunks, metal sheets and

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fifth estate

The Fifth Estate is a co-operative project, published by a group of friends who are in general, but not necessarily complete agreement with the articles herein. Each segment of the paper represents the collective effort of writing, typesetting, lay-out and proofreading.



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ow quickly and easily feminism, like all ideology, is used to affirm the language of power and powerlessness. The superficiality and marketability of its demands have been evident since its inception; but now feminism is being used to openly celebrate middle and upper class comfort, to revel in consumerism and the empty benefits of capitalism.

In an article entitled "Our Bodies, Our Clothes: Fashion and Feminism" in the *Utne Reader* for Aug./Sept. 1986, Judith Levine makes an insulting equation between the beauty of women's bodies, the necessity for sexual freedom, and the mindless pursuit of fashion and style.

"Indeed," she claims, "as many feminists and radicals have begun to concede, buying is not in itself a desperate act compelled by false consciousness." But, of course, it is precisely that; and if feminists and radicals have begun to "concede," then they are making *concessions* and humiliating ones at that. Levine quotes writer Kate Ellis: "Consumerism speaks to some things that are positive in me, that I don't want to get rid of. Even in a feminist utopian state, people will want to buy new things."

This feminist envisions a utopia founded on the very precepts that have created our present misery. By advocating consumerism, calling her hoped-for utopia a "state," and by professing a passion for acquiring things "new," she essentially paves the way for more of the same—a highly structured technological world based on wage labor and production, a world of continued domination.

Levine then gives credence to Ellis' rationalizations: "Collecting new records, using up-to-date technology, or decorating one's house in current design gives one the sense of engagement in the present, indeed, expresses a spirit of hope about the future." Such diversionary obsessive activity cannot truly *engage* one in the present, but can only give one "a sense of engagement in the present"; it cannot express *hope* for the future, but can merely express "a spirit of hope" for the future because it ensnares its victims in the illusions

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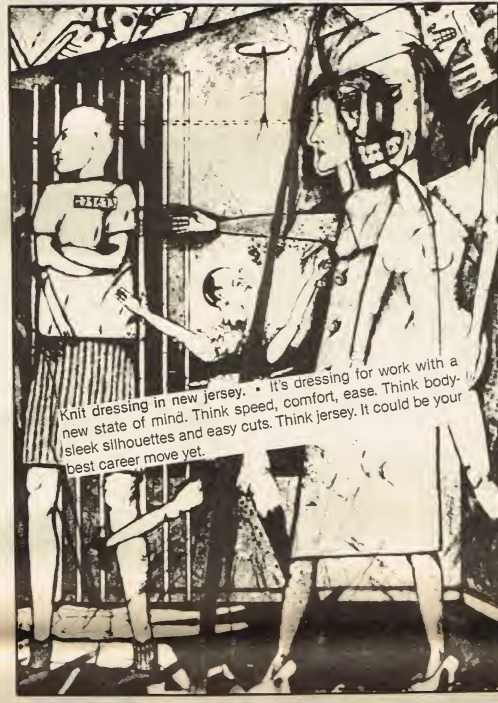
sheet plastic along the fence, we began to make partial shelters from which those with hacksaws could attack the fence. After a good three hours of this, as holes began to appear in the "invincible" fence, the bastards in charge sent out 200 unfortunate riot police to protect the fence from without. They were attacked by the autonomes and fled in panic, many of them seriously injured.

By midafternoon there were a dozen person sized holes in the fence and we proceeded to storm the "police zoo." A few would slip through whenever a cannon withdrew for reloading, and began building further barricades/shelters beyond the barrier.

But "coordination wasn't good enough," writes the informant, and they had run out of molotov cocktails. "Though brave groups danced between the cannons to stone building machinery," he continues, "little serious damage could be caused."

The fighting subsided as evening came on, though several hundred masked demonstrators continued to pelt the police as they tried to weld the holes in the fence late into the night. "The good thing," he

Fashionable Feminism



of its successes and robs them of their autonomy and their individual creativity. Consumers are perpetually *disengaged* from their present reality and blind to their daily participation in the nexus of domination. Consumerism is the necessary other half of wage labor.

There is a pointed irony in successful professional "liberated" women from the wealthiest nation-state in the world smugly wallowing in the frenzy of commodity consumption while women (and men and children) starve not only in places like Africa and India but perhaps right down

the street, and while women (and men and children) flee from US-backed death squads in Central America. Stating that "clothes, the trappings of established social hierarchies, may also be the flags of revolt" is a less than clever obfuscation.

There is never any mention made of what one might be revolting against. Taking on the guise of revolt is merely another option for "free" individuals under capital.

Finally, Levine boldly suggests a tolerant and indulgent direction that women's fashion consciousness should take: "Feminist fashion should encourage an individualized, unconstricted sexual expression—we may be breastless Amazons today if we wish, and tomorrow, gaudy 'bad girls.'"

What a pathetic, yet somehow particularly apt paean to the accomplishments of feminism. "We" obviously don't know who we are anymore. We are lost in a dizzying maze of vapid choices that promise to mask the actual misery and alienation of our lives. It is not only sexism, but consumption, wage work, fashion and style that rob us of our bodies and ourselves, of each other and of our connections with our world.

"Just as bread earned by work tastes acidly of sweat and wages, marketable pleasures are more tedious than the boredom it costs to produce them. The survival-pleasures swindle is part of the lie of abstract freedom. The history we lead with every turn of the wheel is not the history of our desires but rather of a lifeless civilization which is about to bury us under its dead weight . . . The more life decays, the more the market reckons on the scarcity of intense pleasure and multiplies the number of survival pleasures on offer; which, as they are sold and bought, turn instantly to constraint and work . . . The emancipation of pleasure demands the annihilation of mercantile civilization."

(Raoul Vaneigem, *The Book of Pleasures*)



—Lynne Clive

says, "was the 'average citizens' joined in, they couldn't isolate and divide us this time. I remember an old granny giving me a plastic bag to carry stones in, and a good piece of metal for digging . . . or on another occasion as gas grenades thudded down from helicopters all around us, I complimented two old women on their gas masks."

At the end of the first day 232 cops had been injured, and 200 people (mostly from gas), and 13 had been arrested. The second day, the actions continued.

Very early on Sunday morning some radicals stole an excavator from a nearby village, drove it to the site, and tried to tear down the main gate of the fence. But a watercannon and a helicopter dropping gas bombs forced them to give up, whereupon the digger was set alight. Then more helicopters arrived, flying in hundreds of elite commando police. We began our attacks again at noon, less than the day before, but still cutting new holes. Two police trucks were set afire. The police were intent on revenge, and began dropping gas grenades on everyone, near and far from the fence.

Now the police had the advantage and gas injuries were many, with the cops spraying pure gas from the cannons and even baton charging the Red Cross area,

where injured people were being evacuated to the few hospitals which refused to give information to the police. Meanwhile Kohl spoke of "not an attack on [the project] but on the state itself," and the Interior Minister fumed about "a violent attack by chaoten (chaotics) on State Order."

By Tuesday most people had left. At 6:00 pm the police surrounded the remains of the camp, as helicopters dropped commando police on top of us. 130 of us were arrested, at least 17 were badly beaten up after arrest. Meanwhile 47 more were captured in the countryside, some hunted down by low-flying helicopters. But there was still resistance. Local anti-nuclear groups, using a telephone chain, obstructed the transport of the arrested! Roads were blocked, tires slashed, and quite a few people rescued, forcing terrified police to draw their guns. That evening 400 people attacked a police station in a nearby town, smashing all the windows (three more arrests). The police began blocking highways as a "preventive measure."

He concludes that the "best thing" was "to see the cultural mixing (meltdown?) rare in Germany, punks mixed happily with peace movement softies, hippy bureaucrats with black clad anarchist mili-

tants." The police, for their part, are experimenting with more sophisticated gas grenades and demanding rubber bullets.

Over the same weekend 40,000 people demonstrated throughout Germany. 3000 gathered in Berlin and several thousand demonstrated in Bremen, where they tried to squat the cathedral to escape the radioactive rain. After demos at the site for the planned nuke station in Borken, it was announced that construction has been at least temporarily scrapped. In Bodenswehr (near Wackersdorf) the town hall was set on fire and in Sudetenland (also nearby) a Chemical research center was destroyed by arson. At Hamm, farmers blocked access with tractors to a nuke station for a number of days. There were mass demonstrations and battles with the police in many other cities.

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Thousands of water birds have been poisoned to death this fall in the marshlands of southwestern Spain on the borders of the Donana National Park. The presumed cause of the poisoning is the indiscriminate use of a dangerous mixture of insecticides by the rice growers in the region.

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PAY NO ATTENTION TO THAT MAN BEHIND THE CURTAIN...

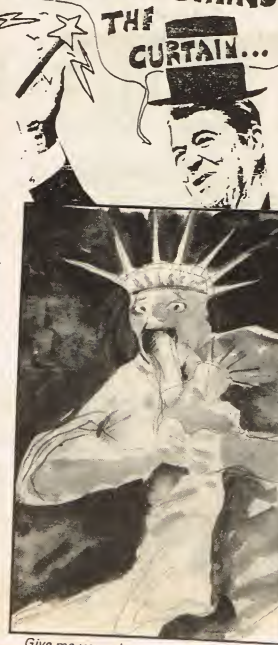
Over the last few months we received several responses to the centennial celebrations of the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor, including the following text, distributed by a group in NYC:

Hil I'm the AMAZING RON, and have I got a show for you: fireworks, lasers, warships, helicopters, and tens of thousands of cops! Just sit back and watch this blinding show of liberty, but remember, to keep America free, we all have to pitch in and help, so I'm asking you to do a few simple tasks:

1. Work at a job you hate for half your waking hours for the rest of your life,
2. Eat poison food, drink poisoned water, and breathe poisoned air for the rest of your life.
3. Give a third of your income in taxes to the government so they can kill and maim innocent people all over the world for the rest of your life.
4. Pay 50% of your income to a landlord or bank for the privilege of having a roof over your head for the rest of your life (or live on the street).
5. Get married, have kids, and numb yourself with TV and consumer products for the rest of your life.

Now that wasn't so bad, was it, folks? Here at the liberty command control center, we're always concerned about security—your security. Just stay behind the barricades and keep your eyes on the show at all times. Remember, we live free, so that you don't have to. A partial list of personnel and equipment for "liberty weekend":

8 helicopters, 31 boats, 7 "total containment" vehicles, 7 robots, 8 x-ray, 4 bomb trucks, 3,006 portable radios, 36 ship-to-shore radios, 230 telephones, 6 golf carts, 6 mopeds, 10 explosive detection dogs, 5,778 wooden barriers, 535 metal barriers, 1,350 cones, 375 life rings, 36.82 miles of tape, 22,000 cops.



Give me your clean cut, your unpoor, your upper classes yearning to invest, the wretched refuse, hirelings, compradors, send these, the exiled bosses you divest: I paint their gold upon my lumen door.

—Tuli Kupferberg

bit:

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Among the species affected are grey and golden plovers, grey herons, the common spoonbill, and a large variety of ducks, including the garganey, which is threatened with extinction in Spain and is one of the rarer species that exist in Donana Park. The animals die slowly; their muscles become swollen, and they bleed from the mouth and the anus.

25,000 birds have died so far, and it is expected that many more will die and that the area affected will increase in size as the poisons spread.

Long ago, miners used to keep a caged canary with them in the mines. Its death would signal the escape of dangerous gases and served as a warning for people to flee for their lives. But what kind of warning is a catastrophe such as this? There is no question as to what it portends for all animals, including humans. How pointedly ironic it is that in growing food to sustain humankind, agriculturalists all over the world are poisoning their environment with lethal chemicals that destroy the natural balance that would give them sustenance.

Native American activist Leonard Peltier, serving two life terms in prison as a result of a government frame-up was denied a new trial in September by a U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. Peltier was part of the historic liberation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota and was present during the armed defense of the Pine Ridge reservation in 1975 against a massive government assault team which left two FBI agents and a Native American dead.

Peltier's attorneys presented numerous proofs to the court refuting the government's major contentions linking Peltier to the shootings of the agents. They also showed that the prosecution withheld and possibly tampered with crucial firearms evidence and was guilty of other legal improprieties. This should have been the basis for overturning Peltier's conviction, but the august judges were not swayed.

According to reports, Peltier remains strong and has never placed his confidence in the American judicial system which has always been complicit with the government's persecution of Native Americans. Rather, he hopes for increasing popular support to force his release.

Further appeals and publicity work need urgent funding. Please contact the International Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, Box 6455, Kansas City KS 66101 for donations and more complete information on the case.

A Christian Pogrom Against Voodoo

The burning of witches and healers, the destruction of sacred places, forced conversion to the christian cross: this is not a description of the christian conquest of Europe and the original invasion of the Americas, but rather of the recent christian pogrom in Haiti being carried out against practitioners of voodoo, the syncretic christian-animist spiritual tradition of more than three quarters of Haiti's people. Describing it as a "devil's religion" practiced by "sons of Satan" and a "national curse" to be "uprooted," Radio Lumiere, run by the Baptist Group of Southern Haiti (which is in turn funded by an evangelical group in Florida) has declared war on voodoo, fomenting a wave of violence against voodoo communities.

In the three months following the fall of dictator "Baby Doc" Duvalier earlier this year perhaps 100 voodoo priests were burned or hacked to death, the houses of voodoo followers were burned, people were forced to convert to christianity, voodoo temples and ritual objects were smashed and burned. People identified as werewolves by christian mobs were macheted and burned to death. In some towns dozens of people were murdered and sacred voodoo sites were desecrated. A Haitian writer told the New York Times, "There has been a fanatic crusade...like the Inquisition, with people dragged off to church or lynched."



At first some observers attributed the attacks to revenge against Duvalier supporters, but as one Haitian ethnologist argued, "Equating voodoo with Duvalier's reign is a pretext for the massacres. It's an excuse used by those Catholics and Protestants who want to reduce voodoo to a less significant role in Haitian culture."

Voodoo worshippers have vowed to resist. One 78-year-old man recalled that his father and grandfather had both been killed with burning oil in the last anti-voodoo outburst in 1942. "At that time we had to practice secretly in the woods," he said, "but voodoo went on and it will."

While we do not know many particulars about voodoo, we were struck by the New York Times reporter's description of the conflict between "the two Haitis": "One is African, with a rich mythology, a pantheon of spirits and distinct moral and social codes that were brought on slave ships from West Africa. The other is Western, first molded as a Catholic French colony, then shifting its model and source of aid to the United States." (Voodoo is one manifestation of a family of syncretic spiritual traditions created by African slaves who were forced to go underground in their nature-based spirituality to avoid punishment from Christian slave masters. In Cuba and Trinidad, this tradition is called *shango*, in Brazil, *condomble*, *xango* and *macumba*, much

of it brought from Yoruba, Ibo and Dahomey cultures. The word voodoo derives from *vodu*, or spirit, in the Dahomean language.)

There is another way to characterize the conflict: on one side, christianity, with its hierarchy, organization, and rigid gospels. On the other, a diffused, decentralized spiritual tradition, described in the encyclopedia we found: "Each group of worshippers is an independent unit, and there is no central organization, hierarchy, or dogma. There is much variation between groups..."

And there is also the contrast in attitudes toward nature: in voodoo and related religions, *possession* is central to the experience, and through the cult, the practitioner participates in nature, is possessed by nature, and passes beyond the boundary between civilization (or even human society) and wilderness. In an essay on *shango*, Edward James writes that it "is based on an understanding that there is no distinction between the natural world of trees, rivers, mountains, and the human world of feelings and ideas"—a kind of poetic participation in nature, one could say, *made by all*.

For christians, one does not participate in poetic-natural processes, one does not become nature's horse (as in voodoo rites) but has dominion over the wild, conquers it and brings it under spiritual and technical cultivation. The boundaries are pushed back and the corporate state is brought in to develop the countryside. Rather than being possessed directly by the spirits in the drumbeats, one joins a bureaucratic organization in which hierarchs mediate all possibility of ecstasy. And, where free spirits choose to experience ecstasy in other ways, inquisition and massacre follow.

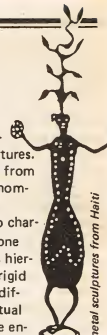
There are few places left in the world where werewolves can freely travel across the frontier to wilderness and the wisdom of otherness; in Haiti, the territory seems to be contested at present, and werewolves are threatened—with so many other species, and *species of ecstasy*—with extinction.

Perhaps voodoo was an element in why Haiti gave this hemisphere its most far-reaching and most brilliant slave revolt. Now, christianity, a religion of slaves and submission to slavery in league with the corporate state, wants to extirpate the "satanic strongholds" where a kind of anarchic spirituality and ecstatic participation goes on. But the spirits are ever-present; freedom, pleasure, wilderness can never be entirely subjugated.

Somewhere, deep in the mountains, deep in sleep, an anonymous Toussaint is preparing a new dance. "Shango," goes the Yoruba poem, "is the death who kills money with a big stick..."

Work to resume

A man wielding a hammer damaged the glass-encased display of the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights at the National Archives on Friday, but the documents were not damaged, authorities said.



You may note the repetitious opening to each of these columns: a plea to subscribers to respond to their renewal notices and a thanks to those who have made special contributions when re-subscribing or ordering books. These donations are the life blood of this newspaper, and although their mention may appear, at times, automatic, please know that they are nothing we take for granted. We have no special funding and other than the support of our readers, no means to finance this project. When we offer our thanks for your continuing support we recognize that distinct quality of mutual aid which enhances the libertarian vision present in each donation.

Speaking of libertarian projects, our circle in Detroit held a picnic in July attended by about 50 people (including comrades from Toronto and Montreal) to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Spanish revolution. It was an afternoon of good cheer capped by a wonderful meal with those in attendance ranging in age from 6 weeks to 84 years. There were two veterans of the Revolution present, one of whom gave a short talk on his experiences. Two films were shown, one made during that period about the revolution and the other of a libertarian picnic held 50 years before to raise funds for the Spanish anarchists. As is the tradition at libertarian gatherings, a collection was taken to support anti-authoritarian publications and projects and political victims of the state.

A total of \$450 was raised which was distributed between the Anarchist Black Cross, Spanish prisoners, Big Mountain support, Guatemala refugee relief, *Anarchy*, *New Iron Column*, *Reality Now*, *Kick It Over*, and *Bulldozer*.

The Detroit Cass Corridor, home to students, drop-outs, rebels, poets, artists, weirdos, winos and the urban poor held its latest "Dally in the Alley" in early September, which drew thousands to the annual event. As usual, non-stop music and poetry were featured along with a flea market, food and a host of other diversions. The Fifth Estate set up a table and we sold \$150 worth of books and pamphlets plus gave out hundreds of our current issue as well as a lot of foreign language publications that we've been accumulating over the last year.

Department of Total Confusion: Opening sentence in an October 8th Detroit Free Press (page 3) article about the city's latest boondoggle—"Detroit's new downtown (monorail) People Mover will be operated from a NASA-style control room where technicians will stop and start the cars, open and close the doors and monitor traffic by remote control." Then on page 8 of the same day's paper in an article about the space program: "The (House) Committee said it is not assured that NASA has adequate technical expertise to conduct the space shuttle program properly." Riding the Detroit People Mover might turn out to be quite a challenge!

Same day, same paper—front page headline: "Experts Call Detroit River Cleaner" — page two headline: "High Levels of PCBs Found On River Bottom."

Following a Summer of diminished opposition to Detroit's planned \$500 million carcinogenic trash incinerator, a decision was made at a recent community

DETROIT SEEN

We Brought Our Piss To Reagan



"President Reagan" was so moved by the presentation of five gallons of drug-free urine by the Citizens for Clean Urine that he dumped the sample over his head.

The lure of a spectacle and the fact that we love a parade made President Reagan's Sept. 24 Detroit campaign stop-over irresistible to us. A protest had been called by a liberal/leftist/labor/religious coalition and one could only expect the ritual "peaceful, legal picket line" with its predictable slogans and all imagination corralled by official demonstration marshalls.

Having had our fill of these affairs, but wanting to greet Ronnie in proper style, we and several friends resurrected the old Eat the Rich Gang and the Workers Revenge Party from the mid-1970s and put together a send-up of the current drug hysteria. Under the name "People for Clean Urine," a leaflet was issued which called upon the populace to "Bring the President Your Piss!" and advised that all political or social concerns be forgotten and realize, "It's drugs!" that are the only problem.

The flyer asked people to "bring a sample of your urine to present to [Reagan] at Cobo Hall to show you are drug free" and announced that we would have a 5-gallon mass urine sample "to be given to President Reagan personally."

In the days preceding the demonstration we posted and passed out almost a thousand leaflets, and at the picket line they were enthusiastically grabbed up by the marchers. Even curious and confused Reaganites seemed interested in them, asking "Are you really serious?" Then, banners and signs flying, dressed in model citizen garb, we marched off into the midst of the 1,500+ anti-Reagan demonstrators and began a guerrilla theater skit.

The humorless leftoid marshalls immediately assumed we were right-wing counter-demonstrators even though we were holding several 1-gallon jugs marked "urine sample" and chanting "drugs,

drugs, drugs," but when "our" Reagan came out to accept our offering they realized what was up.

After we gave a short speech praising him, "our" Reagan was so overcome by our advance compliance to his drug testing proposals that he began wallowing in the samples, then drank from the urine jug and, in a final burst of enthusiasm, poured the remainder over his head. The skit was well received and we had a good time, hopefully making some obvious points about the purpose of the drug scam diversion as well.

(Our leaflet is available for a self-addressed stamped envelope.)

Although the rest of the day's events were much as we had expected, the experience did have some interesting facets to it. Reagan has rarely been back to Detroit since 1980 when he was first nominated for President and has studiously avoided a town comprised primarily of blacks and workers who have never caught the upwinding of the illusory economic recovery.

To insure a responsive claque for his short visit, the local Republican Party paid to have busloads of rich kids and students from suburban christian academies trucked in to create a stage-managed mini-Nuremberg rally when the Prez appeared. Once inside, these tight-assed little brats wearing suits or red, white and blue dresses yelped out cue when cards variously marked "Applaud," "Boo," or "Groan" were lofted by a Party hack at the appropriate point in Reagan's bumbling speech. The crowd was whipped into a patriotic frenzy as cheerleaders led chants of "Reagan, Reagan."

Outside, the lib/lab/left group pulled out a fair-sized crowd for these days in the middle of a work day to picket, but wound up being skewered in the media



Republicans at anti-Reagan demonstration.

due to the hyperbolic predictions of U.S. Rep. John Conyers prior to the protest. Conyers, a black Detroit Democrat and one of the farthest left members of Congress, predicted that "30,000" people would picket Reagan, a figure totally absurd since even in the activist days of the 1960s, the largest marches here were never larger than 20,000!

What exuberance got into Conyers is not known, but the local media jumped on it to proclaim "march fails by 29,000" and let loose an unending stream of abuse against the demonstration seemingly way out of whack with what little threat it represented. The marchers were comprised of fairly straight-laced adults (a few young people were there but in a distinct minority) but the media's reaction betrayed a palpable unease that even this small display of dissent suggests that the ruling illusion is becoming unraveled more than is comfortable.

The media, as the major articulator of the "Reagan Era" charade, has settled cozily back into its traditional symbiotic relationship with power after a brief and superficial "adversary" relationship with the rulers. The arrogance and hostility shown by the editorial writers and fat-salaried TV commentators toward the demonstration is consistent with the world view of the multi-million dollar corporations who pay their salaries.

The only thing really shocking about the news coverage (*The Detroit News* said there were 30,000 present, "1,000 demonstrators and 29,000 insects") was that the liberals and leftists were shocked. As Baudrillard says in *Simulations*, "the only scandal is that there is no scandal." Slandering even the weakest complaint that we are ruled by scoundrels is not an abrogation of the daily lie machine's purpose but its ordained function.

Chirping along in unison like its big brothers, the now reprehensible *South End*, the Wayne State University student newspaper, ran a front page story on Reagan's visit that sounded like a Republican Party press release. Since the madcap editorship of Patty Macaroni is over, the new staff led by Tim Hart, whose grainy snapshot of the President adorned the front page (he was probably nervous in front of the leader), has led the paper back to the days of the old *Daily Collegian*. Ugly as a suburban supermarket throwaway, dull as dishwater (usually featuring hand-outs from the college PR department), you can almost hear these lame Jimmy Olsens snarling after the jobs they think their shiny shoes are preparing them for.

photos/Blaster Brown

The Free, M. Gilliland, Hooligan Press, 142pp., London, 1986, £1.80, \$4.00 (U.S.)

The Free is a short, quick-paced novel about insurrection and revolution, its eventual defeat and the repression which follows. Although the quality of the prose is a bit ragged in parts, it is powerful and real enough that witnessing the dreams of the central characters first realized and then dashed creates a mood of utter despair by book's end.

On a circular announcing the book's publication, the prospective reader is advised, "Don't lose the last page," as if the one small ray of hope emitted there will compensate for the hopelessness which precedes it.

The Free, set in a fictional country similar to Ireland, begins with a few chapters detailing the wretched backgrounds of the protagonists, but quickly clicks into high gear, and the rest is non-stop military action until the last period is typed.

Events begin with a dock strike that becomes an insurrection which leads to a full-scale libertarian revolution in which capitalism and the state are eliminated and replaced by worker-self-management and a large network of cooperatives established prior to the uprising. This section, in which the inertia of capitalist daily life is overcome and the workers, co-op supporters and revolutionaries decide to move beyond its boundaries, is the best done and the most interesting.

However, world capital, unwilling to let any portion of its domain slip from its grasp, unleashes its NATO armed forces in a massive counter-revolutionary expedition which quickly overcomes the fledgling revolutionary society. The Free are reduced to using rear-guard guerrilla tactics as the state and capital are re-established with a vengeance. The revolutionaries then suffer imprisonment, hideous torture and execution so graphically detailed that the reader is left looking for the exit.

To be sure, what is chronicled here in fiction is no less than what radicals (and ordinary people) suffer in reality in the torture states of Central America and in the prisons of South Africa and Northern Ireland, but at some point one begins to wonder what message the author is trying to convey.

If it is that revolution is not a tea party, s/he is successful because both the scenes of battle and of the repression are enough to make those who eagerly await armed conflict take significant pause. Often revolutionary struggles are portrayed in radical thought as glorious while it is imperialist war alone that is a bloody slaughter. *The Free* shows all military action in its full gore as faces are blown off, eyes wrenched out, people burned to death, shot accidentally by their own side, and careful battle plans become a tumult of death. Blood, death and suffering are on almost every page of this painful book.

Still, revolutionary and insurrectional violence are not outside of the anti-authoritarian experience and are considerations which those serious about a new society cannot shrink from facing. Revolutionary literature is not alien to the subject either, and, in fact, *The Free's* story line runs strikingly similar to Jack London's 1907 novel *The Iron Heel* (Lawrence Hill & Co.). The latter title refers to the repressive mechanism of the Oligarchy that crushes "The Cause" in a struggle

which lasts three hundred years. Both novels dwell considerably on the viciousness by which the capitalist state is willing to protect and perpetuate itself, but somehow being supplied in *The Iron Heel* with the knowledge that all of the bloody sacrifices eventually secured success for the revolution makes its carnage easier to take.

In the London book, a capitalist who has just been listening to a condemnation of capitalism says, "We will grind you revolutionists down under our heel, and we shall walk upon your faces." In *The Free*, that is exactly what happens.

The Free's concentration on the details of insurrection, military and guerrilla strategy, its description of violent interrogation and imprisonment, seem consistent with the armed struggle concerns which permeate the milieu around the *Black Flag* newspaper (BM Hurricane, London WC1N 3XX England) of which the Hooligan Press seems to be a part since they share the same BM box. Here in the U.S. fascination with such matters never seems more than a rattling of chains, a macho glorification of violence, but perhaps in England where the ragged edge of capitalist collapse is nearer the surface, staring revolutionary war in the eye may be necessary for what the near future portends.

Yet, the telling of *The Free* brims with a hopelessness that seems all pervasive. If a mass revolutionary movement can be smashed from the outside, why does the vague optimism at the conclusion promise anything more than a repetition of the same process? A message which says that resistance will never cease seems to contain more than a small whiff of martyrdom if the revolutionaries can expect nothing more than an unending cycle of torture and death for their efforts.

Those who operate in the rarified atmosphere of urban guerrilla warfare adhere to this emotional and strategic process. These warriors face the overwhelm-

Rebel Violence v. Hierarchical Violence: A Chronology of Anti-State Violence on the U. K. Mainland, July 1985-May 1985, B. M. Combustion, London WC1N 3XX

"Dangerous times," reads one of the many fascinating newspaper clippings in this pamphlet produced by the same people who gave us *Like A Summer With A Thousand Julys*, *The End of Music*, and *Minor Conflicts, Major Contradictions*. Dangerous indeed, but heady, exciting times, as well, as the chronology demonstrates. A few examples of rebel violence will suffice to give a glimpse:

—Wildcat strikes, violence by striking workers against cops and scabs, prison rebellions, football fans rioting against the cops.

—Cop patrols stoned in Toxteth after chasing joyriders; cop car stolen when the cops chase joyriders on foot.

—Anti-cop rioting in Manchester, Birmingham, London, and elsewhere. . .

—"Large scale rioting in Brixton, South London, after cops shoot & cripple Cherry Groce, mother of 5, in dawn raid. Brix-



BOOK REVIEWS ON REVOLUTION & VIOLENCE

ing power of the state with virtually no hope of success, their efforts ignored by the multitudes in whose name they struggle.

On the other hand, the book's suggestion that revolution hasn't a ghost of a chance unless it occurs in the heartland of the empires—the US or the USSR—rings true as recent history illustrates. It seems a certainty that if the Polish Solidarity movement of the early 1980's had gone further than where its reformist leadership tried to contain it and had overcome the state apparatus, the oft-predicted Soviet invasion and occupation surely would have occurred and probably created a situ-

ation of terror much like that portrayed in *The Free*. Poland's only hope was a generalization of the revolt within the Eastern branch of capital, but failing that, Solidarity had nowhere to go except to reformism and finally defeat.

But all said, the message still remains murky. A book which chooses a fictional scenario from an infinite number of possible ones to show a wheel of endless repression certainly doesn't act as inducement to revolt, but maybe Gilliland wants to present a strong dose of the reality before a road of illusions is set upon.

—E.B. Maple



Striking miners confront the cops, Lea Hall Pit, Staffordshire, April 1984. Postcard available from Leeds Postcards Miners Strike Account, Box 84, Leeds, England LS1 4HU.

ton police station besieged & petrol bombed, with community 'spokesmen' (both black & white) getting attacked when they told everyone to disperse and go home. . . Followed by widespread loot-

ing which extends to other areas. Despite "some occasional fighting over the spoils," there is as well "the usual joyful potlatch

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Violence

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of laughter, fire-raising and pillage, an intense desire for life expressed with a spontaneous generosity.

"7-year-olds were seen helping their grandmothers carry away boxes of alcohol. One old woman, terrified by the atmosphere of the riot, was calmed down when some black guy gave her a couple of bottles of stolen brandy. Someone nicked a whole load of electric kettles, piled them into a vaguely pyramid shape and set fire to them: the kind of thing which modern forms of art turn into museum-pieces become subversive when practiced without authorization. . . . Reporters—"unofficial cops"—are also attacked.

—from a reprinted newspaper clipping: "Whooping West Indians sang 'Oh, what a Beautiful Morning' as they surveyed the riot wreckage yesterday."

—Young people clash with cops in Bournemouth, then form a "Westham Riot Squad" to fight cop harassment.

—A police station is set afire in Bradford-on-Avon.

There seems to be little to compare with all of this here in the U.S., and one gets a sense of that social humus from which a vision of revolution such as that of the recent novel, *The Free* (see accompanying review), seems to be emerging. England is burning.

As the author observes, "In the increasingly barbaric and brutal situation which is the UK today, the patrician British State, rearing itself up into its old-style essence (hopefully, before it's vanquished forever), is treating its own proletariat as its last colony and final territorial imperialism. . . . The atmosphere out there is extremely tense. . . . Breakdown/schizophrenia/madness are on the loose everywhere."

Violence is ubiquitous; some aim it in the right direction, others laterally at those who are their real allies, and still others on themselves as they are driven towards "a black despair." The situation teeters over an abyss: social revolution or nihilism, subversive unity or fragmentation and defeat? But the state is at an impasse, too, and has no strategy for containing the upheaval.

The possibilities are limitless. "Inevitably," the author argues, "there is no middle ground between the violence of this society and the violence that opposes it." And elsewhere: "Everything in support of the living death of this society is forcing 'hooligans' to either become intelligent about who their real enemies are or to become their own worst enemy."

Yet the author of this text does not conceal the problems suggested by much of the violence—the stoning of old people who curse the rioters after their flats were inadvertently burned when stores below were torched, assaults on women, assaults on isolated whites by crowds of enraged blacks, attempted intervention by fascists and the racism of many of the "hooligan" gangs, etc. The author mentions a petrol bomb thrown into a crowd, which fortunately fails to ignite, and exorates perpetrators of such "mini-terrorist" acts which give "molotovs a bad name" and which reduce rebellion "to a cliché—an unthinking repetition of fetishized tactics, trivial gestures devoid of strategy."

Even a neighborhood health clinic gets

torched along with a grocery store. "One doesn't have to be a moralistic defender of the Welfare State," we are told, "to dismiss such attacks as unthinkingly arbitrary." As patronizing and dehumanizing as they may be, with immiseration levels so high, the clinics are worth keeping, says the author, "at least until a revolution transforms such places beyond their present role."

This discussion, like those regarding rapes and indiscriminate attacks on people during the course of the rebellions, reveals a problem in the author's argument—that denouncing racial attacks, for instance, is "not some moral liberal-left question" of black-white unity, but a practical one: "the question of how to consciously develop practical subversive communication and activity in which the dispossessed can recognize their own possibilities and desires in the rebellion of one

ness and of principles, or ethical, revolt—revolt in which the recognition of the humanity of the other, of one's proletarian fellows, even perhaps of the cops (while not hesitating to use every available means to combat them), is key to regaining our own humanity and liberation from the morass of capitalist social relations. Outside these ethical considerations, the violence seems almost entropic, centrifugal, representing a "catastrophe in meaning," in Baudrillard's words, with no vision of a new world and no hope of attaining it.

"The massive rioting dispels the myth the cops have got the inner cities sewn up," the pamphlet argues. "The rioting boosts the confidence of hundreds of thousands of proletarians depressed after the defeat of the miners' strike. Among inner city youth there is a massive advance in the consciousness of their own



Officials examining the knotted bedsheet used by three inmates to flee Trenton State Prison.

another, to recognize their own common interests."

The author would like to dismiss ethical considerations in favor of a harder, more "strategic" perspective, but fails to recognize the instrumentalism in such a perspective, fails to see that it isn't a question of moralism but of overcoming our dehumanization by capital. The "strategic" argument is undermined in any case by the author's denunciations of such acts, as if the perpetrators were people with revolutionary goals that are undermined by incorrect strategies, rather than madmen with goals of their own. The author's critique of mindless hooliganism, of acts which "express the success of this society and add to it," raises precisely the problem of conscious-

power, a consciousness which is unlikely to retreat in the near future. Thousands of youths are quickly discovering that a revolutionary attack on the immediate expressions of their boredom, humiliation and alienation—the cops and shops and the architecture of the prison-cities in general—is both the most exciting activity available as well as the most dignified and appropriate, the most immediately available way of making sense of a senseless world."

But it is obvious that a good share of the documented violence only contributes to the senselessness, the despair, and the fragmentation of life in capitalist civilization—which is why the heady description of rioting, looting and molo-

tov cocktail parties is constantly interspersed with denunciations of asocial (and what might be seen as "microhierarchical"), violence. While it is clear that the fabric of this civilization is unraveling, whether or not radical communities are being forged out of the cataclysm, or what we have in the past called the proletariat is making a revolution, are at best open questions. Unfortunately, the pamphlet does little to describe the lives of "hooligans" and rioters outside of these sporadic (though constant) paroxysms. The author denounces in passing the activities of pacifists at Greenham Common against the cruise missiles (which may be legitimate criticism if one considers the domesticated nature of much of what passes for anti-war protest here in the US). But it may be worth asking if there is any connection to be made between those who may be expressing if only partially a vision of a future, peaceful, convivial society—perhaps among pacifists, or among those who gather at Stonehenge for pagan-influenced festivals—and those who are expressing the rage which is felt towards this world? The visionaries may be innocuous enough to pose no threat to the present order, but rioting, too, represents only a fragmented opposition if it doesn't open the way for human communities to nurture into being new social relations and a new relationship with nature.

The general thrust of the text does go against a simply strategic instrumentalism and affirms a kind of radical "morality," a will to create genuine human communities out of the crucible of anti-hierarchical violence. And it does not evade the responsibility of analyzing the violence and distinguishing radical anti-state expressions of solidarity and creative energy from the reactionary, nihilist manifestations of indiscriminate rage. It can't be otherwise if we are to destroy capital in all its forms, and it also makes it possible to recognize the positive character of much of the so-called hooliganism. (Most radicals and leftists have either denounced all hooliganism as fascist or "tribalist," or have gone to the other extreme of glamorizing it uncritically, as for example the Os Cangaceiros group in France seems to have done.)

In raw, visceral language which will at times seem exotic to North Americans for its colorful slang, the text makes many other related observations of great interest in sections on drugs, the sports riots, music ("The rock star is always always always the enemy of the masses of individuals, the enemy of the individual in himself as in others."), and the spectacularized destruction of commodities (especially cars) in the movies: "capital has learnt well how to profit from the spectacles of our desires. The representation of our fantasies of wrecking the commodities which maintain our isolation and separation is not meant to be practiced in reality, of course; we're all just meant to pay

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*The FE considered reprinting an Os Cangaceiros text on soccer hooligans, but so far have held back on it. We will provide photocopies free to people who send a self-addressed, stamped envelope or who request them with book orders. For an interesting discussion on baseball hooliganism after the World Series in Detroit in 1984, see "The Spectacle Explodes," in the Fall 1984 FE.

The Strait: An Unfinished Novel by Fredy Perlman

At the time of his unexpected death in July of 1985, Fredy Perlman was in the midst of working on his second historical novel to be called The Strait (d'etroit) (see FE Summer 1985 for an appreciation of his life and writings). What follows are Lorraine Perlman's impressions of his massive, two-volume manuscript, which she is currently editing with the prospect of printing it at some future time.

Fredy's other historical novel, *Letters of Insurgents* (written under the names Sophia Nachalo and Yarostan Vocheh) and his other works are available from the Fifth Estate book service or directly from Black & Red, P. O. Box 02374, Detroit, MI 48202.

In *The Strait*, Fredy communicates his vision of a human community. Painstakingly researched, Fredy's work tells the story of the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley region from its mythical origins to the 1840s. Book I ends with the U.S. army defeating the warriors led by Pontiac at Fallen Timbers in 1794. Although the various narrators do not know the grim future their people will have to face, the reader knows what is coming and the history takes on tragic dimensions. Rootkin ways survived only in fragmented form and Fredy communicates the anguish of the loss. Analysis of this history led him to the anti-progress, anti-technological perspective which he held in recent years.

Though the westward march of Europeans seems inexorable, Fredy focuses on certain situations when it was temporarily halted and on events whose outcome was crucial in the history of North America. As the devastation unfolds, we wish that the invaders from across the Salt Sea had been met by the unified antagonism of the Rootkin who, in fact, welcomed them. Fredy's understanding of the ways of these peoples made it clear to him that a unified response would have been impossible. Rootkin society was made up of individuals who weren't obliged to follow the dictates of another individual or of the group.

Fredy depicts characters who respond very differently to the newcomers they encounter:

Those known as Peacekeepers respond with uncritical generosity toward the European whom they see as kin—or as potential kin. One of the early narrators takes this position toward various Rootkin peoples and her attitude is extended to include Europeans. In the course of the story, individuals with this perspective often come to accept the rationality of treaties, chiefs and authoritative representatives.

—Some find the way of Europeans to be incomprehensible. Coexistence is impossible. They prefer to go elsewhere and follow the ways of their ancestors.

—There are others with the vision that the Invaders threaten life itself. They urge driving the Europeans into the Salt Sea from whence they came. Trying to achieve this goal, these individuals are obliged to rely on techniques and weapons alien to their ancient ways.

—Some become enamored of the Invaders' "gifts." An individual who becomes a mediator between cultures gains prestige by distributing gifts to his kin. Even when disasters from plagues or mas-



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sacres occur, this person takes the position that the event was untypical or that his ally was not personally responsible.

Fredy endeavored to describe the social relations of Europeans from the perspective of this continent's early inhabitants. Europeans had words for social relations which were incomprehensible to the people they encountered: trade, property, obedience, sovereignty; as well as words which insulted the Rootkin and their environment: savage, wilderness. Although the Invaders' bizarre concepts gradually encroached on Rootkin reality, they made headway slowly, in the face of incredulity and resistance.

The narrator who relates events in the late 18th century attempts to account for the differing responses shown to certain members of her family when they visit Tiosa Rondion, the Algonquian name for the strait. To a reader long-familiar with racist categories, the discrimination exhibited by the Strait's villagers is clear enough, but the narrator remains baffled.

Book I draws to a close with the narrator grimly observing that her kin are beginning to understand what the word Empty signifies in the Invaders' tongue. Even though the warriors whose history he traced. Among these themes are: Destruction of Nature; Civility leading to the End of Play; Education/Domestication/Reduction of Nature to Logos; Resistance; Dreams/Visions/Reconstitution of rhythm and harmony; Symbol.

Fredy's notes and outlines for this work fill several hundred pages. His met-

turn to. A word the Landgangs were said to be using stuck in our throats; the word was Empty; it was being used to describe various parts of the Beautiful Valley."

Consistent with the narrative, Fredy used Rootkin names for individuals and locations. This makes the story more difficult to read, but its integrity and perspective are retained. Sometimes it is hard to keep track of the characters—especially over several generations. They are identified by tribe (Serpents, Turtlefolk, Red Earth kin) and by their personalities (keeper of the old ways, Peacemaker between conflicting groups, ardent Cross-wearers). Because hierarchy was unknown in their society, fixed roles or designated spokesmen didn't exist.

Reference to earlier historical events is cumbersome because the narrators do not use the European numbering system for years. It may be of interest that each of the 196 single-spaced pages in the manuscript has a heading consisting of a letter followed by the year in which that page's events occurred. The letter refers to one of eight general themes whose history he traced. Among these themes are:

Destruction of Nature; Civility leading to the End of Play; Education/Domestication/Reduction of Nature to Logos;

iculous approach to the subject is obvious when one sees the extensive historical charts he prepared and the chronologies of hundreds of characters. He worried that a fastidious reader might say "Aleshi couldn't have married Shen's niece. She wasn't born yet!"

Conclusions familiar from Fredy's other writings are, in this work, put in a carefully constructed historical setting:

—Mad-Ant Vain's army which advances against the Rootkin warriors at Fallen Trees is not human, but a machine. Two generations earlier, some warriors already recognized that to the Europeans, warfare is not a human activity.

—Pioneers who let themselves be mobilized to fight against the "savages" were themselves victims of a system which acknowledges greed as a virtue and accepts subordination of all Nature's gifts to achieve an inhuman goal.

Though this complex work is Fredy's somber appraisal of the monster that overran this continent and is with us still, it is also a testament to the tenacity and creativity of the human spirit. In the confrontation between world views which are so different, it seems unfair that the wrong side always seemed to win. While reading some passages, I marvelled that Fredy (who "lived" this material for almost ten years) had not sunk into despair. Then I remembered that Fredy, like the Rootkin he was writing about, was part of a community whose support was able to soften some of the blows inflicted by the World-Eaters' ways. He no doubt saw himself in the role he created for his narrators: they reported the anguish-filled events but also recorded the joys, passions and drama of their communities.

—Lorraine Perlman



Violence

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to watch it in passivity on a screen..."). One also gets a glimpse of the mining communities since the strike, how many of the miners have turned to "hooliganism" to continue their war against capital and the state. Even bureaucratic strikes by relatively privileged unionized strata like the printers turn into free-for-alls of radical anti-state and anti-hierarchical violence once the union bosses and the leftist politicians are pushed aside.

This is inspired and inspiring material and should be read by North Americans. Here in the U.S., where there is plenty of evidence of entropic violence (the black humor of commodity tampering which leads to such ridiculous newspaper headlines as "The Threat Against Jell-O" comes to mind), and some evidence of anti-hierarchical violence (like at the Hormel strike), the author declares class struggle to be "pretty dead." A persuasive argument—in any event conditions here aren't at the ragged edge they've reached in the U.K., where, we are told, "the class struggle is slowly but surely becoming the central issue of people's lives." Whatever the real meaning and ultimate outcome, this chronology gave me hope that people are still resisting the machine and refusing to be regimented by it.

—George Bradford

Critique of FE: Are we losing it?

The Decline of (Anti-)Western Civilization: A Critique of Fifth Estate, by Dan Todd, 27 pages, \$1.00 from New Rage, PO Box 11492, Eugene OR 97440

This rather cunningly written essay/dialogue expands on comments made by its author in a letter to the FE (see the Winter/Spring 1986 issue) in which he identified what he thought to be a generalized decline in the quality and critical coherence of the paper. And though I was intrigued by the title and welcomed such a discussion, the product of this critique was disappointing. Todd had simply taken two rambling, hastily-written letters I'd sent him and retyped them with a blow-by-blow, paragraph-by-paragraph response, thus creating a straw FE and knocking it down. But an exchange of letters does not add up to a critique of our ten-year effort.

As Todd's published letter revealed, there was very little of anything he liked in our pages. His list of grievances included our printing a letter to the disarmament movement from an activist which partially suggested our own earlier criticisms, some differences in nuance in two separate articles on Central America, our "drab and uninspiring appearance," the wording of one headline, some cover graphics, our failure to enlist in one side of a feud going on in California, and a kind comment made about a Canadian anarchist paper in a blurb on our book page. (The typesetter edited the last two because they seemed extraneous to Todd's major criticisms.) The published letter was one of a series he sent denouncing our "really stupid contradictions" and "lack of imagination" in format, including lectures on choice of graphics, frequency of publication, size of the paper and length of articles. There was no irony intended in his assurance that his criticism was "essentially friendly, prompted by a desire to help you go further."

What are Todd's criticisms? Despite having made "a number of outstanding contributions to radical theory" in the last ten years, the FE has become a staid and bloated institution. It is "self-important"; "discriminating tastes" like Todd's "find FE increasingly unsatisfying." Trapped in the drudgery of journalistic and technical activity producing the paper, we have surrendered theoretical coherence. The paper has become drab and boring. Dialogues with Christians, articles on war and nukes have led us to a "sloppy eclecticism." Because we have limited ourselves to "moral indignation," we've lost sight of that "completely radical undercurrent" going on everywhere which movements for social change either recuperate or impede. We lack a proper "insurrectionary style" because we "oppose this civilization rather than trying to supersede it." We are undialectical, and because we edited his letter, we must be acting in bad faith, we must have something to hide. Finally, and central to his denunciation, we offend his *taste*. In fact, we have been superseded (presumably by his new project, *New Rage*), we're unsalvageable, we may as well fold—in fact, he hopes we do.

Fragmentary Opposition

Todd's critique is byzantine and filled with charges, but since, as the situationists said, boredom is counter-revolutionary, I'll spare the reader and limit myself to his central ideas. One is that the FE legitimates fragmentary oppositions to capital (though he admits that we've done much to critique such movements), by writing about anti-war and anti-intervention activity. This blinds us to an underlying, "documented rebelliousness" (as he wrote elsewhere) taking place everywhere—the genuine radical undercurrent. This argument flows from a perspective articulated by Anti-Authoritarians Anonymous (PO Box 11331, Eugene OR 97440), on which Todd had previously collaborated, and which has had material published in the FE regularly.

Following the provocative insight of the situationists, that "Fragmentary oppositions are like the teeth on cogwheels, they mesh with each other and make the machine go round, the machine of the spectacle, the machine of power" (Vaneigem), AAA has published many flyers along these lines, including one penned by John Zerzan, observing, "It may even be that militancy over pressing issues is the last, best diversion from what lies beneath all the issues—the emptiness of daily rou-

tines." (See their pamphlet, *Adventures in Subversion*.)

It may be that anti-war movements and other oppositional movements are the last diversion from radical transformation (and that the inchoate acts of rebellion and nihilism against which AAA contrasts them signal such revolt), but then again, it may not. It may be that we have to judge such oppositional movements in their context, that they might represent part of a preparatory development leading to more radical transformation, that they may also contain important currents of subversion. One should be wary of second guessing definitively the role that oppositional movements play.

The AAA perspective has troubled me precisely because from it one could conclude that the daily acts of work avoidance, shoplifting, spontaneous riots, and drunkenness documented by John Zerzan in the FE are "completely" radical (if such a thing were possible) while other acts of indiscipline such as smashing noses, cutting down Navy antennas, smuggling refugees across the border, and interfering with weapons tests are irrelevant or even recuperations. There are a million and one reasons why people do anything from skipping work to blocking a recruiting office (how about skipping work *in*

order to block a recruiting office?), and perhaps none of them is "completely radical." Any such act reflects not only the possibilities it suggests for genuine transformation but also its limitations. If anything, it is a lack of arrogance which prevents the FE from passing final judgment on all political oppositions except where real manipulation and reformism go on. Todd, for example, smears all pacifists and anti-war activists as "peace creeps" (a term worthy of George Will or Joseph Sobran). But this attitude fails to see the ambivalence in such social phenomena, that in movements for social change the possibility for revolution rubs shoulders with recuperation and capitalist recomposition.

The same goes for many of the spontaneous acts of indiscipline described by AAA: work avoidance, for example, is only a statistic unless we examine the context, and the decomposition and alienation so evident today only pose a series of questions by demonstrating the intolerable character of contemporary life. Perhaps such phenomena have become a permanent feature of capitalism. Or perhaps shoplifting (which according to one recent study takes place mainly among middle and upper-middle class people), and work avoidance (which most likely also occurs among cops, corporate bureaucrats and other defenders of the order), could themselves be forms of decompression which function to keep the ship afloat. Work avoidance in order to consume alienated leisure while hierarchy remains essentially intact does little to undermine the system, and maybe something to maintain it. In any case, just as the oppositionist can become tomorrow's counter-revolutionary bureaucrat, the asocial rebel could end up an authentic radical or tomorrow's strikebreaker, soldier or fascist, unless a conscious rejection of hierarchy is made in its present configuration and in general.

A Current of Insubordination

Todd said as much in his letter to the FE last Winter, writing that "war is the ordinary man's most convenient escape from ordinary life" as an argument against antiwar agitation. "Only the radical transformation of ordinary life," he said in language similar to what we've written for years, "can short-circuit the war machine with a current of insubordination." But his perspective appears to allow only the anguished, isolated acts of social breakdown in this undercurrent—principled rejection of patriotism and the war machine are somehow only gestures that lead to recuperation or at best count for nothing. This is analogous to arguing that only the continuous, daily acts of sabotage and rebellion of antebellum U.S. slaves were radical, while the abolitionist movement, the Underground Railroad and bible-inspired visionaries like John Brown were recuperations. In this way Todd disparages people in the Sanctuary Movement (and the FE for recognizing their achievements despite our reservations about their perspectives), while snidely observing that to resist this empire "one issue of the *Lampoonics Catalogue* (which specializes



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in books on home-made weapons and paramilitary techniques) offers more practical help than twenty years of the FE." One can only be suspicious of such militarist chain rattling which reduces a complex social process of revolt and revolution to a simplistic, technical solution.

Even though there has been some disagreement with the "breakdown thesis" raised by Zerzan, we have found it provocative and valuable to a radical discourse. But we haven't seen it as definitive; we not only print contrasting views, but we continue to print material on anti-war struggles and oppositional movements (defense of native peoples and the land, resistance to megatechnics, anarchist and libertarian activities, etc.), including material with which we don't always necessarily or entirely agree. This "sloppy eclecticism" receives much of Todd's scorn, who brags (also without irony) that he is "more dangerous to the Empire [than such forms of opposition] because I read Sade and Nietzsche, as is anyone else who reads them." Todd thinks that words count for much, which is why he counts so much on words. He pretentiously ranks people's actions: on the one side, authentic rebels of daily life and those who read Nietzsche; on the other, all the "peace creeps" and principled opponents of the megamachine. On the one side, sporadic violence against cops; on the other, everything from liberal civil disobedience choreographed by bureaucrats to the nonviolent (and violent?) direct action by antiwar radicals. On the genuinely radical side, the massive refusal of draft registration; on the other, the "recuperated" pacifists and others who have draft-counselled and done antiwar agitation—actions which must have some relation to the draft refusal. Reality is more complex, more contradictory than he cares to imagine, despite his attempted taxonomy of revolt.

Revolutionary Coherence as Ideology

In fact, Todd's lack of imagination and sensitivity in this regard reveals a glaring

problem in his notion of radical coherence—a reification which stems from his spectacularized history of the Situationist International and its purported absolute coherence.* Todd calls the situationist experience "coherent, which is to say, they knew how to act in accordance with their theories in such a way as to practically realize them, demonstrated most notably in May-June 1968, which they predicted." This coherence was "fully realized," he continues, "when a few audacious members wrecked the S.I." rather than let it become a degenerated remnant of its former greatness. This mystique misses what the situs themselves had to some degree come to realize, that it was *precisely* their incapacity "to act in accordance with their theories in such a way as to practically realize them" that led to their impasse in 1968 and their subsequent dissolution, and that the S.I. was already in internal

*This notion is not even necessarily shared by those who participated in that movement. Guy Debord, for example, specifically attacked that "factitious eulogy of the S.I." that "would try to make believe that the S.I., from the moment that it 'exists,' is already everything that it should be in fact (coherence, etc.)," and stressed that "the S.I. would perpetrate a grave misconception by letting it be understood that life is totally reified outside of situationist activity."

disarray when it was liquidated, having suffered a theoretical crisis and resignations by and expulsions of many of its members. (See *The Veritable Split in the International*, 1972.)

Indeed, it was at least in part the S.I.'s failure to examine its demand for absolute theoretical and practical coherence which reveals the limitations of that brilliant group. Such "contempt for equivocation" led Vaneigem, for example, to argue that "'coherence' would always indicate in no matter what debate on a practical action to be undertaken, and after thorough discussion, the right path, univocally recognized in advance." (emphasis in original) Any member or minority which did not share this position, as the S.I. partisans wrote in 1972, "would thus have proved that it did not possess the coherence of the S.I." But incoherence took its revenge because the bedrock of theoretical coherence is really a shifting sand, and the S.I., for all its lucidity and daring, could not sustain itself.

To argue the absolute coherence of the S.I., even in its formal self-liquidation, is to perpetrate an ideology, a mystification which conceals the problem of the sources of the S.I.'s decomposition and collapse. It is to learn the wrong lessons from the

experience of the situationists and to repeat their errors—errors which are fatal when not only their errors but their hubris is copied.

It's not that there aren't other errors to avoid—a liberal pluralism which treats ideas, like commodities, as equally valid (and equally alienated) expressions of truth, for example, would probably reflect the inverse error. But when we began to unravel the discourse of civilization and particularly the history of the West—progress, technology, science and critical-rationalist method—the notion of a theoretical center or vanguard was going to eventually, and inevitably, give way to ambivalence, to a sense of decentralized truth, and even to eclecticism (and all the attendant pitfalls). A critique of scientism, of the notion of historical progress, and of language and meaning that is embedded in a primitivist longing tends to undermine critical theory itself, but it also suggests that coherence no longer has a center expressed by isolated theoreticians, but has become decentralized. Reality is not simple, monistic, not even dialectical, but kaleidoscopic.**

A Spectacularized History of the FE

Just as Todd has ideologized the history of the S.I., he has created a spectacular image of the FE's history which is equally false. The FE never claimed to pursue at solute coherence, but rather a general, ye

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**If I wrote, during a controversy with the sagebrush anarchists at *The Match*, that "Fundamental realities cannot be counted, only felt, lived," and that rationalists of *The Match*: nineteenth century positivist mode "cannot experience the multiverse which is reality, this 'hard bone,'" In Antonio Machado's words, "on which reason breaks its teeth," (see Jamake Highwater's book *The Primal Mind*), isn't it obvious that this recognition would have implications for the more sophisticated critical theory advanced by post-situationist radicals, too? (I will still send free of charge a copy of this exchange to anyone who requests it; it raises related questions and also counters some of the slanders disseminated by Chaz Bufe's recent scurrilous pamphlet, *Listen Anarchist*.) I don't want to pursue this further here since I am presently working on an article/review concerning these very themes, which I hope to complete by the next issue of the FE.

Plastic Poem

—White Pine Beach, Point Pelee, Ontario, August 31, 1986

Yellow garbage bag ties
pieces of ziplock bags
whole ziplock bags and baggies
tips of tiparello cigars
orange bread bag ties, green ones
juice bottle top
milk bottle top
camera lense cover
pieces of pampers disposable diapers
toy soldier
toy truck wheel
chapstick
coffee stir
pieces of bic pens
bic pen top
toy rudder
piece of yellow comb
orange elmer's glue cap
black binocular lens cap
many caps of many unidentified things
many nondescript pieces of things in many colors
pieces of fishing line, pieces of netting



Albatross (30 in. long)

blue baby doll brush
baby doll arm
toothpaste tube cap
nyquil cold medicine cup
tampon applicators—everywhere
bic cigarette lighters—everywhere
cigarette filters—everywhere
pieces of styrofoam cups and plates
straws—red and white striped, blue and white striped
pieces of forks and knives and spoons
six pack beer can yokes
shotgun shells
pieces of balloons—green ones, yellow, blue and red
champagne cork.
Let's celebrate.

The sand cannot cover this.
The earth cannot bury this.
The lake cannot swallow this.

—Sara Loosestrife

Plastic Plague

—More than five million plastic containers are dumped into the ocean each day by the shipping crews of the 50,000+ ships that sail the seas.

—Commercial fishermen alone dump more than



Jellyfish



Fur seal (6 ft. long)

50 million pounds of plastic packaging into the sea each year and lose some 300 million pounds of plastic nets, lines and bouys.

—Participants in an Oregon beach cleanup two years ago collected 26 tons of garbage in three hours.

—2,000,000 seabirds, several hundred thousand mammals and turtles die every year because of plastic ingestion.

—90% of albatross chicks on Laysan Island have some quantity of plastic in their digestive system.

—Plastic banana bags dumped from docks in Costa Rica are found in the digestive tracts of sea turtles which probably mistake the bags for jellyfish—one of their favorite foods.

—Lost fishing nets trap and entangle fish and other water wildlife. A single piece of netting, recovered in the North Pacific contained one hundred dead seabirds and two hundred dead salmon.

—Each night, Japanese, Taiwanese and Korean fishermen set out eight-mile long, twenty-six foot deep nets, stretching 20,000 miles of invisible netting. Each morning when the nets are retrieved, an average of ten miles of netting escapes detection, continuing to entrap and kill fish. Thousands of miles of old, deteriorated nets are consciously left behind or dumped overboard each year.

—Each year ten times as many fur seals killed by native Alaskans are killed when they become caught in plastic netting left out by commercial fishermen.

THE CASE AGAINST ART



Art is always about "something hidden." But does it help us connect with that hidden something? I think it moves us away from it.

During the first million or so years as reflective beings, humans seem to have created no art. As Jamieson put it, art had no place in that "unfallen social reality" because there was no need for it. Though tools were fashioned with an astonishing economy of effort and perfection of form, the old cliché about the aesthetic impulse as one of the irreducible components of the human mind is invalid.

The oldest enduring works of art are hand-prints, produced by pressure or blown pigment—a dramatic token of direct impress on nature. Later, in the Upper Paleolithic era, about 30,000 years ago commenced the rather sudden appearance of cave art discovered at places like Altamira and Lascaux. Those images of animals possess an often breathtaking vibrancy and naturalism, though sculpture of that period, such as the widely-found "venus" statuettes of women, was quite stylized.



Perhaps this stylization indicates that domestication of people was to precede domestication of nature. Significantly, the "sympathetic magic" or hunter theory of earliest art (that cave paintings, for example, were created as a form of utilitarian control over nature), is now waning in light of evidence that nature was bountiful rather than threatening. [Left: Venus of Willendorf, circa 20,000 B.C.]

Something Precious Slipping Away

The veritable explosion of art at this early time betrays an anxiety not felt before: in Worringer's words, "creation in order to subdue the torment of perception." Here is the appearance of the symbolic, as a moment of discontent. It was a social anxiety; people felt something precious slipping away. The rapid development of ritual or ceremony parallels the birth of art, and we are reminded of the earliest ritual re-enactments of the moment of "the beginning," the primordial paradise of the timeless present. Pictorial representation roused the belief in controlling loss, the belief in coercion itself.

And we see the earliest evidence of symbolic division, as with the half human, half beast stone faces at El Juyo. The world is divided into opposing forces, by which binary distinction begins the contrast of culture and nature and a productionist, hierarchical society is perhaps already prefigured.

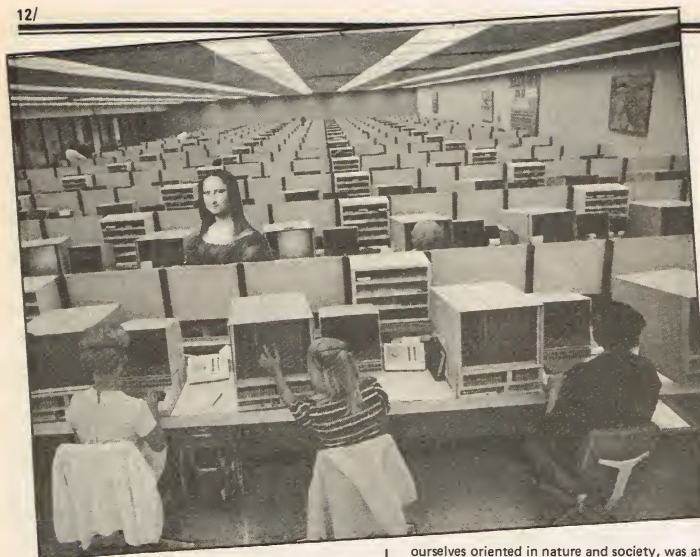
The perceptual order itself, as a unity, started to break down in the face of an increasingly complex social order. A hierarchy of senses, with the visual



steadily more separate from the others and seeking its completion in artificial images such as cave paintings, moved to replace the full simultaneity of sensual gratification. Levi-Strauss discovered, to his amazement, a tribal people that had been able to see Venus in daytime; but not only were our faculties once so

very acute, they were also not ordered and separate. Part of training sight to appreciate the objects of culture was the accompanying repression of immediacy

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in an intellectual sense: reality was removed in favor of merely aesthetic experience. Art anesthetizes the sense organs and removes the natural world from their purview. This reproduces culture, which can never compensate for the disability.

Not surprisingly, the first signs of a departure from the egalitarian principles that characterized hunter-gatherer life begin to show up at this point. The shamanistic origin of visual art and music has been often remarked upon, the point being here that the artist-shaman was the first specialist. It seems likely that the ideas of surplus and commodity appeared with the shaman, whose orchestration of symbolic activity portended further alienation and stratification.

Art, like language, is a system of symbolic exchange that introduces exchange itself. It is also a necessary device for holding together a community based on the first symptoms of unequal life. Tolstoy's statement that "art is a means of union among men, joining them together in the same feeling," elucidates art's contribution to social cohesion at the dawn of culture. Socializing ritual required art; art works originated in the service of ritual; the ritual production of art and the artistic production of ritual are the same. "Music," wrote Seu-ma-tsen, "is what unifies."

As the need for solidarity accelerated, so did the need for ceremony; art also played a role in its mnemonic function. Art, with myth closely following, served as the semblance of real memory. In the recesses of the caves, earliest indoctrination proceeded via the paintings and other symbols, intended to inscribe rules in depersonalized, collective memory. Nietzsche saw the training of memory, especially the memory of obligations, as the beginning of civilized morality. Once the symbolic process of art developed, it dominated memory as well as perception, putting its stamp on all mental functions. Cultural memory meant that one person's action could be compared with those of another, including portrayed ancestors, and future behavior anticipated and controlled. Memories become externalized, akin to property but not even the property of the subject.

Individual Separated from Nature

Art turns the subject into object, into symbol. The shaman's role was to objectify reality; this happened to outer nature and to subjectivity alike because alienated life demanded it. Art provided the medium of conceptual transformation by which the individual was separated socially from nature and dominated at the deepest level. Art's ability to symbolize and direct human emotion accomplished both ends. What we were led to accept as necessity, in order to keep

ourselves oriented in nature and society, was at base the invention of the symbolic world, the Fall of Man.

The world must be mediated by art (and human communication by language, and being by time) due to division of labor, as seen in the nature of ritual. The real object, its particularity, does not appear in ritual; instead, an abstract one is used, so that the terms of ceremonial expression are open to substitution. The conventions needed in division of labor, with its standardization and loss of the unique, are those of ritual, of symbolization. The process is at base identical, based on equivalence. Production of goods, as the hunter-gatherer mode is gradually liquidated in favor of agriculture (historical production) and religion (full symbolic production), is also ritual production.

The agent, again, is the shaman-artist, enroute to priesthood, leader by reason of mastering his own immediate desires via the symbol. All that is spontaneous, organic and instinctive is to be neutered by art and myth.

Recently the painter Eric Fischl presented at the Whitney Museum a couple in the act of sexual intercourse. A video camera recorded their actions and projected them on a TV monitor before the two. The man's eyes were riveted to the image on the screen which was clearly more exciting than the act itself. The evocative cave pictures, volatile in the dramatic, lamp-lit depths, began the transfer exemplified in Fischl's tableau, in which even the most primal acts can become secondary to their representation. Conditioned self-distancing from real existence has been a goal of art from the beginning. Similarly, the category of audience, of supervised consumption, is nothing new, as art has striven to make life itself an object of contemplation.

As the Paleolithic Age gave way to the Neolithic arrival of agriculture and civilization—production, private property, written language, government and religion—culture could be seen more fully as spiritual decline via division of labor, though global specialization and a mechanistic technology did not prevail until the late Iron Age.

Creating the Symbolic Universe

The vivid representation of late hunter-gatherer art was replaced by a formalistic, geometrical style, reducing pictures of animals and humans to symbolic shapes. This narrow stylization reveals the artist shutting himself off from the wealth of empirical reality and creating the symbolic universe. The aridity of linear precision is one of the hallmarks of this turning point, calling to mind the Yoruba, who associate line with civilization: "This country has become civilized," literally means, in Yoruba, "this earth has lines upon

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its face." The inflexible forms of truly alienated society are everywhere apparent; Gordon Childe, for example, referring to this spirit, points out that the pots of a Neolithic village are all alike. Warfare in the form of combat scenes makes its first appearance in art at this time also.

The work of art was in no sense autonomous at this time; it served society in a direct sense, an instrument of the needs of the new collectivity. There had been no worship-cults during the Paleolithic, but now religion held sway, and it is worth remembering that for thousands of years art's function will be to depict the gods. Meanwhile, what Gluck stressed about African tribal architecture was true in all other cultures as well: sacred buildings came to life on the model of those of the secular ruler. And even though the first signed works do not show up before the late Greek period, it is appropriate to speak here of art's realization, by defining some of its general features.

Art not only creates the symbols of and for a society, it is a basic part of the symbolic matrix of estranged social life. Oscar Wilde said that art does not imitate life, but vice versa; which is to say that life follows symbolism, not forgetting that it is (deformed) life that produces symbolism. Every art form, according to T. S. Eliot, is "an attack upon the inarticulate." Upon the unsymbolized, he should have said.

Both painter and poet have always wanted to reach the silence behind and within art and language, leaving the question of whether the individual, in adopting these modes of expression didn't settle for far too little. Though Bergson tried to approach the goal of thought without symbols, such a breakthrough seems impossible outside our active undoing of all the layers of alienation. In the extremity of revolutionary situations, immediate communication has bloomed, if briefly.

Art is the Creation of Substitutes

The primary function of art is to objectify feeling, by which one's own motivations and identity are transformed into symbol and metaphor. All art, as symbolization, is rooted in the creation of substitutes, surrogates for something else; by its very nature therefore, it is a falsification. Under the guise of "enriching the quality of human experience," we accept vicarious, symbolic descriptions of how we should feel, trained to need such public images of sentiment that ritual art and myth provide for our psychic security.

Life in civilization is lived almost wholly in a medium of symbols. Not only scientific or technological activity consists largely of symbolic processing. The laws of aesthetic form are canons of symbolization, often expressed quite unspiritually. It is widely averred, for example, that a limited number of mathematical figures account for the efficacy of art. There is Cezanne's famous dictum to "treat nature by the

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cylander, the sphere and the cone," and Kandinsky's judgement that "the impact of the acute angle of a triangle on a circle produces an effect no less powerful than the finger of God touching the finger of Adam in Michelangelo." The sense of a symbol, as Charles Pierce concluded, is its translation into another symbol, thus an endless reproduction, with the real always displaced.

Though art is not fundamentally concerned with beauty, its inability to rival nature sensuously has evoked many unfavorable comparisons. "Moonlight is sculpture," wrote Hawthorne; Shelley praised the "unpremeditated art" of the skylark; Verlaine pronounced the sea more beautiful than all the cathedrals. And so on, with sunsets, snowflakes, flowers, etc., beyond the symbolic products of art. Jean Arp, in fact, termed "the most perfect picture" nothing more than "a warty, threadbare approximation, a dry porridge."

Why then would one respond positively to art? As compensation and palliative, because our relationship to nature and life is so deficient and disallows an authentic one. As Motherlant put it, "One gives to one's art what one has not been capable of giving to one's existence." It is true for artist and audience alike; art, like religion, arises from unsatisfied desire.

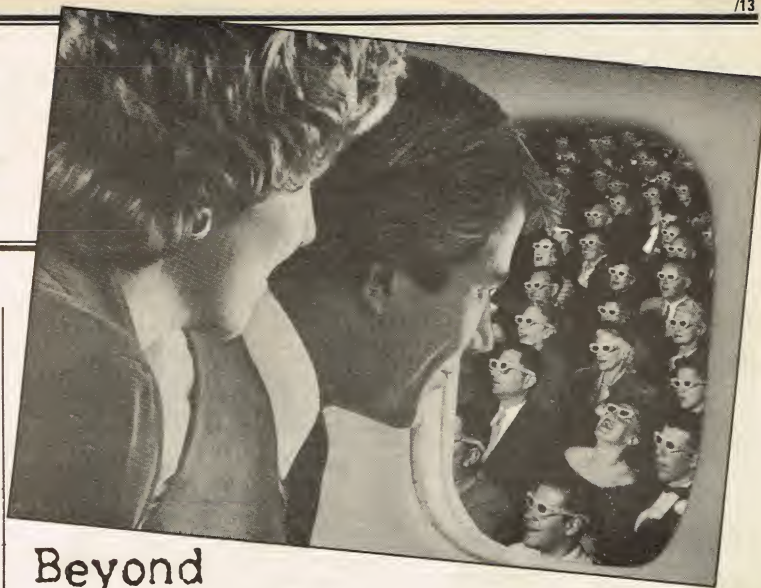
Art should be considered a religious activity and category also in the sense of Nietzsche's aphorism, "We have art in order not to perish of Truth." Its consolation explains the widespread preference for metaphor over a direct relationship to the genuine article. If pleasure were somehow released from every restraint, the result would be the antithesis of art. In dominated life freedom does not exist outside art, however, and so even a tiny, deformed fraction of the riches of being is welcomed. "I create in order not to cry," revealed Klee.

Worked as Generators of Guilt and Oppression

This separate realm of contrived life is both impenetrable and in complicity with the actual nightmare that prevails. In its institutionalized separation it corresponds to religion and ideology in general, where its elements are not, and cannot be, actualized; the work of art is a selection of possibilities unrealized except in symbolic terms. Arising from the sense of loss referred to above, it conforms to religion not only by reason of its confinement to an ideal sphere and its absence of any dissenting consequences, but it can hence be no more than thoroughly neutralized critique at best.

Frequently compared to play, art and culture—like religion—have more often worked as generators of guilt and oppression. Perhaps the ludic function of art, as well as its common claim to transcendence, should be estimated as one might reassess the meaning

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Beyond the Mantic Ray: Notes on the Archeological Daydream

I am a sick man . . . a spiteful man. I think there is something wrong with my liver. I don't think it was properly prepared. A crow keeps trying to snatch it from my plate with pearl-inlaid tongs, muttering about vedic wars in the wall, the wall which separates me from the world, the world where cities are demolished by gigantic mechanized pelicans awaiting the mass strike. But I hardly notice, I am listening to your acidic echoes as you read the poems you wrote last night. I am propped up like a corpse against a bombed out wall. Your voice mingles with the drone of a police helicopter which has flattened against the window like a pulverized hummingbird.

"Do the police raid poetry readings?" you ask nervously.

"On the contrary," replies the sawhorse metamorphosing into a dying jellyfish, "they encourage them."

The sculptor of bloodstains has stolen a blind and ghostly dance from the forest. He plunged into the mirrored glass of hallucinated districts, pursuing sleight-of-hand birds transmitting hypnotic fanfares. The statue that he fashioned never lived. Registering the brittle meadows of longing on an oneristic seismograph, he stirred blood and ash into a gourd.

Vengefully he covered his skeletal statue with a tarpaulin of knives. He began to write wounded telegrams in tentacled patterns on its parchment, in wasp-like letters of poison.

Even his handwriting resembled him. His statue rotted, begging to be murdered. He took a job, left his life closed up in a room. He who once wrote musical comedies about the half-eaten banquet of Danton now only plucks a banjo and sings love songs. I want to see him when he is *starving*.

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An anarchist knight once wrote that the civilizations of the past may be judged by their pots and pans. Today's pots and pans—not fit for a cacophonous dirge. They can't be worn as hats, or masks. They have no power. Once I thought they could at least bring a dictator down and turn the cops into a bitter stew, but for too long they have been too empty and too full. Little flecks of pot and pan grind their

teeth and pierce invisible holes in the heart. These grey scorpion utensils cook human flesh and feed it to forks, adding only a stale spice called art.

Beauty, terror, desire: suicided by self-immolation (a daily dose of vitamin napalm) or servility (mannerist Q-tips). Art: banks. Art: guards. Art: plexiglass. Art: air conditioning. Art: business. Art: work. Art, said Hulseneck, "Art regarded from a serious point of view is a large scale swindle."

If we want beauty, we must forsake art. Our dwellings must become erotic, their portals narcotic, our movements dance, our language song. The novel of the future will be *telepathic*. In a world of fragmented lives and fragmentation bombs, to live for art is to sing for the Pavlovian morsel. Art is only a splinter of rubble. For the sake of business the gold of the tigers has been refined into high-powered fuel for melancholy hotrods, in which the artists pass their days peeling rubber. Let us prefer to play a special kind of wild card to reverse this losing game, chopping this stacked deck into confetti with scimitars of ivy, with the mating song of the mantic ray.

Reducing beauty to art is like putting on shoes and never walking in them. Let us discard not only the shoes, but the *putting on*, and walk out of the back door into paradise. The artist interested only in art is interested only in *sales*. The artist who wants to live beautifully can only heed one call: change life.

3

What matters now is all or nothing. Like magic mushrooms, cafeteria style, hinged police of the underworld, the fluidity of manifest being on its way to work, the postcards postmarked "nirvana" in the monastic libraries, the poisonous messages, the terminal salad.

After the fall of the commune and the bloody reconquest of proletarian paradise, Rimbaud took a vacation to Africa. No—can I help it if he suicided himself after discovering the poverty of art? Look at his flight, carrying the severed hands of the working girl in his pockets like his own. I would like to kiss

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Art: plexiglass. Art:
business. Art: work.
regarded from a serious
scale swindle."



The Case

Continued from Page 13

of Versailles: by contemplating the misery of the workers who perished draining its marshes.

Clive Bell pointed to the intention of art to transport us from the plane of daily struggle "to a world of aesthetic exaltation," paralleling the aim of religion. Malraux offered another tribute to the conservative office of art when he wrote that, without art, works civilization would crumble "within fifty years" . . . becoming "enslaved to instincts and to elementary dreams."

Hegel determined that art and religion also have "this in common, namely, having entirely universal matters as content." This feature of generality, of

meaning without concrete reference, serves to introduce the notion that ambiguity is a distinctive sign of art.

Usually depicted positively, as a revelation of truth free of the contingencies of time and place, the impossibility of such a formulation only illuminates another moment of falseness about art. Kierkegaard found the defining trait of the aesthetic outlook to be its hospitable reconciliation of all points of view and its evasion of choice. This can be seen in the perpetual compromise that at once valorizes art only to repudiate its intent and content with, "Well, after all, it is only art."

The Culture Industry

Today culture is commodity and art perhaps the star commodity. The situation is understood inadequately as the product of a centralized culture industry, à la Horkheimer and Adorno. We witness, rather, a mass diffusion of culture dependent on participation for its strength, not forgetting that the critique must be of culture itself, not of its alleged control.

Daily life has become aestheticized by a saturation of images and music, largely through the electronic media, the representation of representation. Image and sound, in their ever-presence, have become a void, ever more absent of meaning for the individual. Meanwhile, the distance between artist and spectator has diminished, a narrowing that only highlights the absolute distance between aesthetic experience and what is real. This perfectly duplicates the spectacle at large: separate and manipulating, perpetual aesthetic experience and a demonstration of political power.

Reacting against the increasing mechanization of life, avant-garde movements have not, however, resisted the spectacular nature of art any more than orthodox tendencies have. In fact, one could argue that Aestheticism, or "art for art's sake," is more radical than an attempt to engage alienation with its own devices. This late 19th century *art pour l'art* development was a self-reflective rejection of the world, as opposed to the avant-garde effort to somehow organize life around art. A valid moment of doubt lies behind Aestheticism, the realization that division of labor has diminished experience and turned art into just another specialization: art shed its illusory ambitions and became its own content.

The avant-garde has generally staked out wider claims, projecting a leading role denied it by modern capitalism. It is best understood as a social institution peculiar to technological society that so strongly prizes novelty; it is predicated on the progressivist notion that reality must be constantly updated. But avant-garde culture cannot compete with the modern world's capacity to shock and transgress (and not just symbolically). Its demise is another datum that the myth of progress is itself bankrupt.

Dada was one of the last two major avant-garde movements, its negative image greatly enhanced by the sense of general historical collapse radiated by World War I. Its partisans claimed, at times, to be against all "isms," including the idea of art. But painting cannot negate painting, nor can sculpture invalidate sculpture, keeping in mind that all symbolic culture is the co-opting of perception, expression and communication. In fact, Dada was a quest for new artistic modes, its attack on the rigidities and irrelevancies of bourgeois art a factor in the advance of art. Hans Richter's memoirs referred to "the regeneration of visual art that Dada had begun." If World War I almost killed art, the Dadaists reformed it.

Surrealism is the last school to assert the political mission of art. Before trailing off into Trotskyism and/or art-world fame, the Surrealists upheld chance and the primitive as ways to unlock "the Marvelous" which society imprisons in the unconscious. The false judgment that would have re-introduced art into everyday life and thereby transfigured it certainly misunderstood the relationship of art to repressive society. The real barrier is not between art and social reality, which are one, but between desire and the existing world. The Surrealists' aim of inventing a new symbolism and mythology upheld those categories and mistrusted unmediated sensuality. Concerning the latter, Breton held that "enjoyment is a science; the exercise of the

senses demands a personal initiation and therefore you need art."

The Nothingness of Modern Art

Modernist abstraction resumed the trend begun by Aestheticism, in that it expressed the conviction that only by a drastic restriction of its field of vision could art survive. With the least stain of embellishment possible in a formal language, art became increasingly self-referential, in its search for a "purity" that was hostile to narrative. Guaranteed not to represent anything, modern painting is consciously nothing more than a flat surface with paint on it.

But the strategy of trying to empty art of symbolic value, the insistence on the work of art as an object in its own right in a world of objects, proved a virtually self-annihilating method. This "radical physicality," based on aversion to authority though it was, never amounted to more, in its objectness, than simple commodity status. The sterile grids of Mondrian and the repeated all-black squares of Reinhardt echo this acquiescence no less than hideous 20th century architecture in general. Modernist self-liquidation was parodied by Rauschenberg's 1953 *Erased Drawing*, exhibited after his month-long erasure of a deKooning drawing. The very concept of art, Duchamp's showing of a urinal in a 1917 exhibition notwithstanding, became an open question in the 50's and has grown steadily undefinable since.

Pop Art demonstrated that the boundaries between art and mass media (e.g. ads and comics) are dissolving. Its perfunctory and mass-produced look is that of the whole society and the detached, blank quality of a Warhol and his products sum it up. Banal, morally weightless, depersonalized images, cynically manipulated by a fashion-conscious marketing strategem: the nothingness of modern art and its world revealed.

The proliferation of art styles and approaches in the 60's—conceptual, minimalist, performance, etc.—and the accelerated obsolescence of most art brought the "postmodern" era, a displacement of the formal "purism" of modernism by an eclectic mix from past stylistic achievements. This is basically a tired, spiritless recycling of used-up fragments, announcing that the development of art is at an end. Against the global devaluing of the symbolic, moreover, it is incapable of generating new symbols and scarcely even makes an effort to do so.

Occasional critics, like Thomas Lawson, bemoan art's current inability "to stimulate the growth of a really troubling doubt," little noticing that a quite noticeable movement of doubt threatens to throw over art itself. Such "critics" cannot grasp that art must remain alienation and as such must be superseded, that art is disappearing because the immemorial separation between nature and art is a death sentence for the world that must be voided. *

The End of Art?

Since Piero Manzoni canned his own feces and sold them in a gallery and Chris Burden had himself shot in the arm, and crucified to a Volkswagen, we see in art ever more fitting parables of its end, such as the self-portraits drawn by Anastasi—with his eyes closed. "Serious" music is long dead and popular music deteriorates; poetry nears collapse and retreats from view; drama, which moved from the Absurd to Silence, is dying; and the novel is eclipsed by non-fiction as the only way to write seriously.

In a jaded, enervated age, when, it seems, to speak is to say less, art is certainly less. Baudelaire was obliged to claim a poet's dignity in a society which had no more dignity to hand out. A century and more later how inescapable is the truth of that condition and how much more threadbare the consolation or station of "timeless" art.

Adorno began his last book thusly: "Today it goes without saying that nothing concerning art goes without saying, much less without thinking. Everything about art has become problematic: its inner life, its relation to society, even its right to exist." But this *Aesthetic Theory* affirms art, just as Marcuse's last work did, testifying to despair and to the difficulty of

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MANTIC RAY:

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those small brown hands, those thorny hands, those transparent hands, those bleeding claws, each holding its treasure of dove eggs, those miniature worlds in Rimbaud's trouser pockets, along with all the other baggage: some moons and comets, ammunition, a mirror in the shape of a swordfish, one-way tickets to Utopia, a revolver perturbed by lightning, some pocket change cowries, a broken pocket watch. He left it all on a beach in Libya and went off naked into the bush—can I help it if he carried the plague with him, turned Africa into a brokerage? Didn't a gangrenous life bring its own reward? I want to be the wave that carried off his treasures, those dread hands become crabs, I want to be that wave that swept it all away like a mob of looters. Rimbaud was smoking an unnamed root and dancing nose to spinal column—I want to be that root, not a tap-dancing artist who suppressed art merely for this world, not from the other side of the wall, the wall I prop up now like a dead rider on a straw horse propping up the dreams of a dying city.

4

Poetry is senescent and literature flourishes everywhere. The poets who bang their pots and pans, the poets in their brokerage house processing words in microwaves—they need to be sent packing. Only it won't be the boorish fascists who terrified old Unamuno on his balcony that toss these charlatans out on their ears. We have in mind a herd of armadillos.

Answer to nobody: paint your critique into a corner and dynamite the room. We, too, once manufactured culture in sweat shops, packaging our dreams in disposable containers, in throw-away pots and pans. We, too, marketed the memoranda of the hierarchs. We, too, lived to see our inventions fail. So we changed genres and began to manufacture dynamite. Now we perform elaborate deceptions to smuggle the wolves into the theaters: the feature is about to begin. Nothing will save you from our revenge.

5

Beauty can live in powerful objects, objects like enigmatic metals which emit unsettling signals. Beauty can exist as a lure which pulls us away from the wall,

away from the city, away from art. Beauty is like the Lady of the Lake: we have to drown to follow her. Beauty does not tolerate life jackets.

6

The ancient Egyptians mummified everything: themselves, first of all, but also their world—slaves, children, cats, gazelles, lizards, snakes, falcons, deer, vultures. Everything orbited in an eroding spiral around the tomb. Life was colored in somber greys of death. They collected everything and discarded nothing. Form crushed their world just as the pyramid stones crushed their architects and slaves. The ancient Egyptians invented the card catalogue, the inventory, the information bank. But they were done in by the sand. It covered everything until no trace was left. Of course, the Egyptians loved it, they never resisted, choking on the sand contentedly, in a sleepy rapture. It was all expected, awaited. Nothing was left to chance. It blew in from the south, from the place where Rimbaud sold his blood for some shoes, and it covered everything.

The Egyptians packed everything away in trunks and suitcases, placed each internal organ in its appropriate resting place, left a note for the archeologists, and went happily to sleep. But now they realize their error; they've grown bored in their confinement, and are preparing to release the entire, mummified menagerie, to stalk the earth in search of disorder. Somewhere, the archeologists actually have everything planned in advance for them: conference centers, catering, the proper number of folding chairs in place, speakers tables, pitchers full of ice water and sleeping potion. We'll be in the alley, cleaning our fingernails with our switchblades, ready for the archeologists when they leave.

7

In his film *The Decameron*, Pasolini, playing an artist, reflects on his completed fresco (which is also his completed movie) and says to himself, "Why realize a work of art when it is so marvelous just to dream of it?" One need not finish (or even begin) a film or fresco to ask this question.

Another image comes to mind, a dream I had some time ago. The scene was a storage room about which I had repeatedly dreamt years earlier. I hadn't dreamt of this room, returned to this room, in a long time. It seems that in previous dreams I had stored away all sorts of bric-a-brac from my life—in fact the room was a storeroom in the middle school I attended, and the lights in the hallway were out and the school was closed permanently. In the recent dream I have reentered this room and found it as I left it. But now I am throwing away all of the junk that had once seemed so important, important enough to save. I am clearing it out, throwing it all into trash barrels. Some Andalusian music plays from somewhere. Now I seem to be bailing out a boat, or paddling on some shallow, silent sea, I am throwing weight out of a boat which floats above the water. I am clearing out just as I am clearing out the room. One era is coming to a close, but no new era is about to begin—there is only some wild and unexplored presence ahead, a weightless plenitude.

Anything here that you want you can have. It is of no use to me any longer, only dead weight. Use this incomplete manuscript as kindling, there, at the base of the wall. And this broken compass. I won't be needing it, though it would serve me infinitely better than one which works. Inward and outward are the same direction.

8

The Maya are leaving the city now, wearing necklaces of fox, amulets of rain. Before the flower wilts and dies they want to taste its bitter nectar. They've left their baggage at the station, their phones off the hook, their letters unopened and unanswered. Slowly they trickle into the jungle and disappear. We, too, are preparing our departure. We, too, shall disappear.

—T. Fulano



THE SLAVES OF ATHENS

Here's a toast to the slaves of Athens!
On whom Western Philosophy batters;
We owe them most of what we learnt
What?

O sorry but that toast is burnt.

—Tuli Kupferberg

Continued
from
Previous Page



Against Art

assailing the hermetically sealed ideology of culture.

And although other "radicals," such as Habermas, counsel that the desire to abolish symbolic mediation is irrational, it is becoming clearer that when we really experiment with our hearts and hands the sphere of art is shown to be pitiable. In the transfiguration we must enact, the symbolic will be left behind and art refused in favor of the real. Play, creativity, self-expression and authentic experience will recommence at that moment.

—John Zerzan

*Deconstruction, for its part, announced the project of decoding literature and indeed the "texts," or systems of signification, throughout all culture. But this attempt to reveal supposedly hidden ideology is stymied by its refusal to consider origins or historical causation, an aversion it inherited from structuralism/poststructuralism. Derrida, Deconstruction's seminal figure, deals with language as a solipsism, consigned to self-interpretation; he engages not in critical activity but in writing about writing. Rather than a deconstructing of impacted reality, this approach is merely a self-contained academicism, in which Literature, like modern painting before it, never departs from concern with its own surface.

Losing It?

Continued from Page 10

not complete, agreement on questions. It was not an attempt to create a theoretical vanguard as much as a desire to participate in a radical discourse in which a community of rebels could express their collective, as well as their individual, desire, in which one person's "coherence" has often been juxtaposed against the "coherence" of another. There have always been contradictory points of view and a recognition of our ambivalence—both in our own participation in the megamachine and the reproduction of daily life, as well as in the difficult problems raised by our opposition to technological civilization, questions which to some degree have been left open.

While we strive for a critical clarity, we recognize courage, daring and generosity in people who nurture community and resist power, even when they are motivated by religion, or have illusions about this civilization that we do not share. The refusal of this civilization and the emergence of an authentic life are necessarily greater than any theoretical explication—they are beyond theoretical word tyranny, beyond



Setting the Shutter.

theoretical and material control, right where they belong. So we walk a knife edge of criticality and respect for diversity. If this is eclecticism, so be it; but it is worth asking what the reverse would be of such eclecticism, if not some kind of monocultural demand that everyone speak the same language.

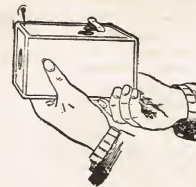
Here is an example of the kind of problems created by refusing ambivalence and the paradoxical character of reality. One of the "stupid" contradictions that Todd perceives in the FE is described in his published letter (reprinted in his critique), that an article in the FE claimed that there was no libertarian tradition in Central America (in contrast to revolutionary Spain or Russia); yet another article had described in some depth the struggle of Guatemalan Indians to preserve their autonomous societies against civilization. He argues in his critique that "the native cultures in Central America are the authentic libertarian tradition," an ignorant generalization that does nothing to clarify either libertarian revolutionary traditions or the profound nature of indigenous animism and community. It is a simplistic reduction to call primitive and archaic communities the "libertarian tradition," since it conceals or ignores a history of political and social struggles which underlie the authoritarianism and *caudillismo* in Central America, and ignores the subtleties and contradictory character of the Indian communities: that they are syncretic pagan-christians, that their resistance in the last period grew out of the christian catechist movement (to which Rigoberta Menchu, whose autobiography was reviewed in the article in question, belonged), that they presently have tactical alliances with leftist guerrillas and urban reform organizations, that the people helping the Guatemalan refugees are

in large part Catholic relief and human rights organizations. Todd's sweeping statements ignore these paradoxes, but for him the Guatemalan Indians don't seem to exist as real living people who may need our aid, but as an example of something to be employed in a parlor debate. Doing concrete work to defend the Guatemalans is only sacrifice or manipulation, in his view. He, in contrast, is of more "discriminating taste." "Having resolved a question for myself," says our rugged individualist, "I want to wrestle with more difficult ones, so I want to know who can help me, not who I can help."

Solipsism and Cruelty

His attitude borders on solipsism when he argues against acting in anyone's interest but his own. "I oppose an industrial machine which is killing me," he argues against those who would defend Central American peasants from being massacred by U.S.-financed stormtroopers, "as it happens to be killing everyone else." Me, me, me. "To esteem others more highly than yourself, to ponder the fate of others you cannot help," he says, repeating the catchwords of contemporary passivity and apathy, "is the essence of comfortable decadence."

Actually, this cynical utterance has "comfortable decadence" backwards, failing to realize that through solidarity people might create spaces for their own freedom and for a genuine community, along with extending rebellion. It assumes, comfortably, that nothing we do has an effect on the situation, which, given the experience of the anti-war movement during the Vietnam war and even of the present low-level resistance to the Central American wars, is patently untrue. It also overlooks that we are a part of a fabric that includes those peasants, that just as the Guatemalan Indians in Rigoberta Menchu's region battle the state, in part, to defend trees (their relatives) from being felled for "road improvements," we must fight to



Exposing.

defend those Indians or we are diminished and the sources for our community, for our revolt, are dried up. In other words, there isn't any great distinction between the anguish, humiliation and dehumanization we suffer living in this social pyramid which crushes our dreams, and the anguish and rage we experience in the face of its horrible crimes against others. (His lack of sense of proportion is obscene as well, and trivializes the level of violence in Central America by treating his own misery as comparable.) Finally, he doesn't understand that principled anti-war and anti-imperial struggles can contribute in a qualitative way to the erosion of loyalty to the state and mass institutions and to the widening of rebellion. The anti-war movement during the Vietnam war did much to contribute to a radical vision in this society (many people were radicalized by the war) and led to much of the breakdown and the

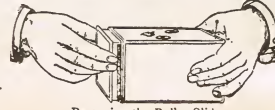
wave of wildcat strikes that occurred in the 1970's, for example.



Cutting off Exposures

An Insurrectionary Style

Todd's tastes, however, are too discriminating for such mundane questions. He wants stronger style, more potent and more ferocious words. He is fascinated by ferocity and cruelty, in fact, never confronting the fact that cruelty has been colonized by Hitler and Hollywood, that, as Raoul Vaneigem wrote in *The Book of Pleasures*, "cruelty is now the normal viciousness of the ordinary man." He seeks to employ cruelty in superseding this civilization, asking, "Why not demand everything?" Apart from the possibility that the definition of "everything" varies widely (a situ technoutopia? cadillacs for the proletariat? living in trees?) and is thus itself incoherent, there is nevertheless still an important difference between demanding "everything" and using such a formulation to spit on anyone who would demand anything less. Because we recognize this distinction, because we weigh our



Removing the Roller Slide.

criticism carefully when addressing people who are taking great personal risks or putting their bodies on the line in resistance to some tentacle of the empire, we offend this aesthete's taste. We don't have an "insurrectionary style" ferocious enough to entertain him (as if insurrection were a matter of style).

His notion of an insurrectionary style inspired by cruelty, finally, merges with the banal; his example is lifted from the parodies of the Church of the Sub-Genius: a kingdom where "hideous games like WAR and CONQUEST" will be played "enacted on imaginary battlefields of richly textured but entirely fraudulent construction." "What has a 'refractory community of conscience,'" he asks, referring to a phrase I wrote in the FE in an article discussing our own anti-war agitation, "to do with this kind of life?"

Well, in a word, *nothing*. Those games are already being played by yuppies with toy weapons in expensive amusement parks. They're also suggestive of the war a pro-situ fights on a polemical plane: an imaginary battlefield of baroque construction, in which victories are won in the style of scholastic debates entirely disembodied from a world in which real human beings are getting pulverized by real nihilist war-gamers—"ordinary men," perhaps, whose weariness of boredom and love for adventure recruited them into state-financed armies.

Todd's discussion of style and format also is worth mentioning, at the risk of seeming indelicate. For a few months we suffered his irritating lectures on format mixed with his venomous descriptions of our eclipse—all delivered, we were assured sanctimoniously, to help us "go further." When I suggested that he had done little to help the FE except to send a few flyers and a few pot shots, he replied in his cri-

tique (rather than replying to my letter), "Excuse me: I answer to no collective," and "I have no interest in the technical and journalistic pressures felt by the FE, since I judge it on the results of its activity." At least he was straightforward: he looks for those who can help him, not whom he can help. Yet judging him by his own criteria, what are we to make of a text, in this age of photocopying and collage splendor, of zine craziness and creativity, typed out austere like some college term paper? In appearance, then, as much as in lucidity (not to mention generosity), this critique falls short.

Of course, it isn't that the FE doesn't have its problems, that we don't have disagreements, that we haven't made mistakes, that issues don't vary in quality and in lucidity; but so far we've managed to keep plugging away. Our achievements have been humble and haphazard, but we feel that we remain on the side of contestation against power, on the side of human solidarity and autonomy, and on the knife-edge of critical clarity tempered with a respect for the integrity and humanity of people with whom we have serious differences of perspective. As for superseding megatechnic civilization and capital, neither a newspaper nor subversive flyers come close; but we remain open to ideas, open to visions, open to action. Maybe civilization doesn't get superseded, anyway, but trampled, like the Mayan cities, by visionaries and primitivists on their way back to wilderness.

Who knows—perhaps we have grown "soft," since we are more tolerant of people with whom we have differences, we're careful to distinguish our enemies from our friends and potential friends. The S.I. wrote that it knew "how to treat its enemies as enemies." (By their own reckoning, 58% of the people mentioned in their journal were insulted.) But did they know how to treat their friends as friends? In one of my letters to Todd, I quoted Nietzsche to express the changes I have gone through in the last few years: "The snake that cannot shed its skin perishes. So do the spirits who are prevented from changing their opinion; they cease to be spirit."

This statement embodies what we have all tried to do on this project, to grow, and to endure. The FE may become more idiosyncratic and perhaps more eclectic as time goes on. I have no regrets in leaving behind the mantle of theoretical coherence that we have allegedly betrayed—it has become an ideology that stands between me and my own subjective clarity. But the



Developing it at once.

FE circle still wants collaborators—visionaries, rebels, dreamers, free-thinkers and free-livers to share in this project. We want a community whom we can help and who can help us expand the circle and shatter the walls holding us in this civilization, separating us from paradise. I hope this excessively long review/response will encourage them to get in touch. As for Todd, I'll confess his polemic forced me to examine my acts and my ideas; people who read this owe it to him to check out his critique for his side of the story.

—George Bradford

Last issue we promised to print more reactions to the May Day centenary celebration of the Haymarket Affair (see FE Summer 1986), but much of what we had intended for publication failed to come together. This is unfortunate since many of the criticisms—of responsibility for the arrests at the Friday march (see report further on), the structure of the workshops, meat at the banquet, and even anarchism itself—made for important reflections on an experience that was significant to many of us.

A number of other people have put together reports, impressions and critiques of the May Days. Eight of the 38 persons arrested on Friday were from Toronto and they have a statement on their perspective available from PSC, Box 5052, Station A, Toronto, Ont., Canada M5W 1W4. It also appears in the just published *Daily Barbarian* (see News & Reviews) and in a compilation of impressions published by the Chicago '86 organizers, Box 102, 1200 Fullerton, Chicago IL 60614, which also includes statements by a number of other participants.

A mailing list of those who attended the conference was compiled by Craven Companion and is available "for open distribution among fellow anarchists." It can be obtained from Denise Unora, 1459 W. Foster, Chicago IL 60640.

Craig Wallace's Haymarket Remembered project, a collection of photos and articles, promised for the end of August has not yet come our way, but apparently is still in the works. Craig may be reached at Box 12222, Seattle WA 98102, for submissions if it is not too late or for orders.

Haymarket Scrapbook, published by the Charles H. Kerr Co. (which is celebrating its 100th birthday), contains a fascinating historical look at the 1886 incident using both contemporary and historic essays to communicate the importance the



late murder of the five anarchists held for the world-wide anti-authoritarian movement. Its graphics are almost worth its price. Available from our bookservice. Regarding those arrested in Chicago on Friday, May 2, the *gentle anarchist* newspaper, Box 1313, Lawrence KS 66044, contains this update in their Summer '86 edition:

"Most of the 38 folks arrested during the anti-capitalism demonstration in downtown Chicago had trials scheduled for June 13.

"Twelve folks showed up for trial, the rest forfeited bail (\$50 for most of the men, nothing for most of the women) and had warrants issued for their arrest. Their bond for next time was set at \$3,000, so we should probably have the next gathering

somewhere other than Illinois.

"Charges against one woman were dropped immediately, and after some behind-scenes legal maneuvering, charges against 6 others were dropped and 4 were given 3 months supervision, which is basically like parole except that with supervision you don't get a conviction on your record if you avoid getting arrested during the supervision period.

"The state had originally offered to drop charges on some people, prosecute some that day, and prosecute the rest at a later date. But after some discussion, four people were found who weren't planning on being arrested for civil disobedience in the next three months and were willing to take 3 months suspension, and the prosecutor accepted our sacrificial lambs.

but it was clear that the radical edge of the original resistance was missing and conversation at the meeting never left the plane of demand for single issue reform.

Hopefully, though, the meeting acted as a bridge to the renewed call for direct action. None of us are taking it for granted that the plant will be built, but realize the gulf between potential and realization in any situation. All of us are aware of the models of direct confrontational strategies employed by the European anti-nuclear movement and the mass community mobilizations against construction of the Tokyo and Frankfurt airports in the mid-'70s. Whether opposition to the Detroit trash incinerator ever moves to that stage depends not only on the conscious commitment on the part of masses of Detroiters to stop it, but on the extension of a radical anti-industrial perspective.

Not every model citizen is as fortunate as those in Citizens for Clean Urine who were able to present their drug-free urine samples directly to President Reagan (see P.5) in support of his war on drugs. Numerous groups throughout the country (including Detroit's Patriots Pissing for the President [see the latest *Daily Barbarian*]) have been calling on others who want to exhibit their loyalty to do the next best thing: Send the President and Nancy your drug-free urine sample by mail to the White House, Washington DC. Be careful when packing your sample, since a poorly tightened jar, or worse, a plastic bag could leak, spilling piss all over our country's leaders.

"We all owe big hugs to Charles, Gideon, Karry, and MH for taking the rap for everybody and to Edward our tireless volunteer attorney-at-law."

One post-gathering incident developed around that evil mediation, money, shortly after the conclusion of the events. It appears from a reading of separate and only somewhat conflicting accounts that one individual took it upon himself to disburse a rather large sum of money left over from the contributions to the bail fund collected after the Friday afternoon arrests.

An exchange of charges took place between some of the Haymarket '86 organizers and the individual, but eventually all of the almost \$2,000 was dispersed. After expenses, a large contribution was made to the Big Mountain Support Committee (which was opposed by the Haymarket group since it was not to an anarchist recipient) plus \$65 was given to a number of anti-authoritarian projects and publications including this newspaper.

Money, as it always does, created hard feelings which do not seem to have been resolved. If you would like the unhappy details, you can write the Haymarket '86 organizers (address above) or Dennis Stempler (who took control of the funds), 669 W. Barry, 3S, Chicago IL 60657. By the way, since we donated \$25 to the centennial activities last year and received back a profit of \$40, we are turning our share over to the Haymarket Remembered Project.

An interesting and informative set of postcards depicting scenes and central persons in the Haymarket incident are available from Kerr Publishing Co., 1740 Greenleaf Ave., Chicago IL 60626. Inquire as to prices.

All said, it was a good and important gathering. Let's do it again—soon!

unique blend of musical idioms.

Copies of the Layabouts' album, "No Masters," are still available from the *Daily Barbarian*, Box 02455, Detroit MI 48202 for \$8.50. All proceeds from the record go for food relief in the Cass Corridor area of Detroit (see Spring FE 1986 for a review of the LP).



The Australian Anarchist Centenary Celebration (AACC), held in Melbourne, May 1-4, seemed to mirror in many ways the Haymarket Centenary held in Chicago. Celebrating 100 years of Australian anarchism, the gathering brought together participants from all over the country for workshops and demonstrations. A May 1st march went through the heart of the city to the "8-hour Monument" with black and red banners flying. The Celebration also featured theatre, poetry, bands, and dancing as well as the first International Anarchist Film Festival. For Centenary documents and film festival program write: AACC, Box 20, Parkville 3052, Melbourne, Australia.

DETROIT SEEN

Continued from Page 5

gathering to picket the construction site at Russell and Ferry, 4:30pm, every Tuesday afternoon. The return to direct action comes after the dismissal by the courts and the federal Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) earlier this Fall of legal and environmental challenges to the plant.

Our initial enthusiasm for the opposition to this hazard was based on an elementary sense of self-defense (since we all live and work within range of what will be its poisonous emissions), but also on what we saw as its political potential to suggest the whole of technocratic-chemical society (see FE Summer 1986). However, the early resistance to the facility wound down after it became clear that a few spirited demonstrations and the presentation of the obvious bio-ecological dangers were not only being ignored by the city administration, but were failing to elicit a response from city residents.

With participation waning, a small group of those who had been the core of the opposition sponsored a costly and seemingly ineffective community meeting featuring liberal environmentalist, Barry Commoner. The talk was well attended,



News & Reviews

The Daily Barbarian is loose again after almost a year's absence. The large, 8-page broadsheet filled with libertarian news, poetry, an essay on S & M, a great back-page Reagan poster, irreverent humor and imaginative layout makes one wish for more frequent issues. Alas, the barbarians in charge refuse to be pushed, wheedled or cajoled into working harder at publishing so its appearance will remain "infrequent." We will send a new Barbarian with each book order or contact them directly at Box 02455, Detroit MI 48202.

On the road again: the dynamic duo, Christina Floyd and Arthur Miller, who are responsible for organizing an amazing amount of Native American and prison support work and still find time to publish Bayou La Rose, have moved again. After a reportedly unhappy short stay in Kansas City, they have relocated their publication and their Survival Network Center at Box 2576, San Diego CA 92112. The current Bayou contains its usual fare of articles, statements, letters from prisoners and petitions in support of the environment and those most victimized by the state including reports on imprisoned Native American Leonard Peltier and Big Mountain.

The number of foreign language publications we received from anti-authoritarian and anarchist projects across the world is suddenly beginning to take up a large section of our bookstore space. They do neither their publishers nor us any good just sitting there, so if you speak French, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, Greek or Portuguese send us some stamps or a buck or ask for them in your book orders and we will gladly pass them on. We also have for the asking, papers from the U.S., Canada, England, Ireland and Australia.

Normally we wouldn't bother to comment on the dismal machinations of corporate liberal journalism, but since the saga of the *Mother Jones* magazine/Michael Moore dispute is partially being played out around here, perhaps it's worth a word or two. Moore was summarily cashiered recently from his post as editor of *Mother Jones* after a brief tenure marked by continuing disputes with its publisher, Adam Hochschild. *MJ*, sort of a *Time Magazine* for the tame left, is a tedious journal which exposes the minutia of capitalist abuses without ever coming to the conclusions such observations would suggest.

The sordid details of the wrangle have been chronicled in Alexander Cockburn's columns in *The Nation* and Detroit's *Metro Times*, and from those accounts Moore's sacking centered on his objection to running a social-democratic criticism of the Sandinistas and his righteous protest



FE BOOKSTORE

The FE Bookservice may be reached at the same address as the Fifth Estate Newspaper, P.O. Box 02548, Detroit MI 48202 USA, telephone (313) 831-6800. Visitors are welcome, but our hours vary so please call before dropping in.

HOW TO ORDER BY MAIL:

1) List the title of the book, quantity wanted, and the price of each; 2) add 10% for mailing costs—not less than \$.69 U.S. or \$.96 foreign (minimum charge for 4th class book rate postage); 3) total; 4) write check or money order to: The Fifth Estate; 5) mail to The Fifth Estate, P.O. Box 02548, Detroit MI 48202 USA.



THE FREE by M. Gilliland

A fictional account of an insurrection, revolution and its suppression under circumstances not dissimilar from contemporary Great Britain. Graphic descriptions of battle, guerrilla warfare, torture and imprisonment make this novel not for the fainthearted, but probably represents what could be expected in a real such situation. So intense in sections (see our review in this issue) that it left our reviewer "looking for the door."

Hooligan Press 142pp \$4.00

BOLO' BOLO by P.M.

Bolo' Bolo ranges somewhere between a satirical sci-fi novel and a (non-violent) battle plan for the "substruction of the capitalist and/or socialist Planetary Work Machine." Bolo's are tribal sized units which group people around specific interests/ideologies/ideas/tastes or what ever sphere of commonality they choose. P.M. devises a time table and even a language necessary for the transition to a world of Bolo's, and even if one refuses to take it all completely serious, there is a wealth of insight and humor to make the reading worthwhile.

Semiotext(e) 198pp \$4.95

HAYMARKET SCRAPBOOK edited by Dave Roediger & Franklin Rosemont

A profusely illustrated centennial anthology by contemporary labor historians and anarchists of the period. It focuses on the Haymarket Affair of 1886-7 and on the incredibly varied and enduring influence the event exerted across the world.

Charles H. Kerr 256pp 8X11 size \$14.95

ADVENTURES IN SUBVERSION: ANTI-AUTHORITARIAN ANONYMOUS FLYERS, 1981-1985 by AAA

Collection of the witty, acerbic, often blunt and vitriolic detournements and denunciations of some west coast bad elements, negationists and rebels. "A totally unnatural world of tedium and deprivation . . . is crumbling."

AAA 28pp 8X11" \$1.00

MINER CONFLICTS-MAJOR CONTRADICTIONS

An account of the British miners strike. From the introduction: "...mining communities, and those who identify with the struggle, are actually beginning to discover real life outside and against the commodity-spectacle."

B.M. Combustion 31pp \$1.00

ON THE POVERTY OF BERKELEY LIFE and the Marginal Stratum of American Society in General by Chris Shutes

The examination of Berkeley, Calif. as the prototype of life on the margins of capitalist society. An exposure of self-delusion about work, "hip" business, and consumption. Cruel, but fair. Ends with a fairly hopeful chapter on events in South Africa.

Self-published 52pp \$2.50

NEW ARRIVALS

PROPAGANDA: The Formation of Men's Attitudes by Jacques Ellul

"The theme of *Propaganda* is quite simply . . . that when our new technology encompasses any culture or society, the result is propaganda. Ellul has made many splendid contributions in this book." Marshall McLuhan

Vintage \$313pp \$5.95

AUTONOMOUS TECHNOLOGY: Technics-of-Control as a Theme in Political Thought by Langdon Winner

Winner outlines the paradoxes of technological development, the images of alienation and liberation evoked by machines, and assesses the historical conditions underlying the exponential growth of technology. He evokes the myths of Frankenstein and Prometheus to illustrate that we may all face a permanent bondage to our own inventions.

MIT Press 335pp \$9.95

REBEL VIOLENCE v. HIERARCHICAL VIOLENCE: A Chronology of Anti-State Violence on the UK Mainland-July 1985-May 1986 Published Anonymously

from the text: "As usual during riots, the streets, normally alien places serving the speedy circulation of merchandise where you pass through as quickly as possible, become the terrain of history and community in struggle, where people discover they have something to talk about other than purely boring events." This sort of analysis is interspersed with a chronological listing of anti-state violence, riots, "hooliganism," attacks on police along with hilarious reprints from mainstream papers decrying it all. (see our review in this issue.)

Combustion 8X11 35pp \$1.50

CITIES OF THE RED NIGHT

Satirical, visionary, this novel rivals his famous *Naked Lunch*. A "what if" story which rewrites history, retelling the tale of an anarchist pirate from the 17th century who founded a libertarian commune which was destroyed, its founder murdered by the British. Later, after a plague from the ancient Cities of the Red Night located in the Gobi desert has reduced the world population, other pirates begin where he left off, and carry his revolution to South America.

Holt 332ps. cloth orig. \$14.95, now \$6.00

AGAINST HIS-ISTORY, AGAINST LEVIATHAN by Fredy Perlman

In a poetic style which leaves the terrain of history as it exorcises it, *AGAINST LEVIATHAN* traces the origins of the state, the destruction of myth-centered, communitarian, free societies by authoritarian machines and economic social relations, the varied forms of resistance to and flight from the state.

Black & Red 302pp \$3.00

LETTERS OF INSURGENTS

by Fredy Perlman (written under S. Nachalo and V. Vocheck)

Epic in scope and size, *Letters* examines the human qualities of love, loyalty and solidarity within the crucible of revolution. The recurring themes of the novel echo in many Black & Red publications and in this newspaper.

Black & R 832pp \$5.00

LIVING MY LIFE: An Autobiography

by Emma Goldman
In this first single-volume, unabridged autobiography, Goldman follows her life from her birth in 1869 in Lithuania through her personal triumphs and failures, her political radicalism and deportation, her love affairs, and personal remembrances. Johann Most, Alexander Berkman, "Big Bill" Heywood, Max Eastman, Jack London, John Reed, Lenin, Havelock Ellis and scores of others appear in this stirring account of the world's most famous anarchist.

Peregrine 993pp paper (1/2 price) \$.66

(Note: due to its size orders for this book must include a minimum of \$1.20 postage plus additional if other titles are ordered.)

BLOWING AWAY THE BORDERS: Unity With The Grass Roots Disarmament Movement In The Soviet Bloc: Can The U.S. Disarmament Movement Live Up To Its Name?

An introduction to the small but courageous independent peace movement in the Soviet Union which incurs the wrath of the KGB for its actions against war.

N.Y. Trust Group 8X11 10pp \$.75

(See News & Reviews this issue for report on recent activities.)

TEN COMMON ARGUMENTS AGAINST ANIMAL RIGHTS REPUTED

by Perry Phillips
"Plants feel pain, don't they?" and other such inanities rebutted in clear, sensible terms.

People for Animals 22pp \$1.50

ZIONISM IN THE AGE OF THE DICTATORS

by Lenni Brenner
Brenner searches through the Zionist record and finds evidence that it sought the patronage of avowed anti-Semites and, ultimately, the collaboration of the fascists and Nazis. Brenner shows how from the beginning Zionism's leaders were prepared to go to almost any length to achieve the goal of a separate Jewish homeland.

Lawrence Hill & Co. 277pp (hbk) \$8.95

THE WHITE ROSE by B. Traven

By the author of *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* and *The Death Ship*, Traven chronicles the clash between Mexican rural life and American industrialism to illustrate what we have needed for the modern world. It describes the discovery and exploitation of Mexico's oil resources by the rapacious giants of the U.S. oil industry and the destruction of an Indian hacienda which stood in their way. Made into a movie in the '70s in Mexico, its distribution was blocked for years because of pressure from the oil interests.

Lawrence Hill & Co. 209pp (hbk) \$6.95 (reduced)

JOHN BROWN by Henry David Thoreau

Three classic Thoreau essays in defense of Capt. John Brown and his raid on Harper's Ferry to arm a slave insurrection. In the introduction to the 1984 Montreal edition the publisher links the scorn Brown reaped even from anti-slavery forces at the time to the contemporary refusal of many peace activists to support the "terrorism" of groups like the Vancouver 5. Poses the question: what acts are permissible to fight evil in the world? Graphically stunning.

Anonymus 36pps \$1.00



Porpoise

BACK IN STOCK

NO STATIST SOLUTIONS: Anarchism and "the troubles" in Ireland

by Michael Ziesing

Contains selections from the Dublin anarchist paper "Outta Control" and an interview with Hit Parade, an Irish Band. A first hand account of Ziesing's travels in N. Ireland and his observations from a libertarian perspective. A review of this pamphlet in "Freedom" set off quite a debate between English and Irish anarchists.

46pp

\$2.50



Dinosaur (from 2 ft. to 60 ft. long, according to the species)

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE HUNGARIAN UPRISING

Throughout the gulag-states there were military processions and official pseudo-celebrations to celebrate the Bolshevik's counter-revolutionary coup, and here in the West, various leftist sects held boring, poorly attended seances to commemorate the date. All of them, whether they represent Leninism in power (Brezhnev's "real existing socialism") or Leninism out of power (the 57 varieties of Trotskyism, Maoism and Stalinism of the Western parties), will be defending the mystifications of the monolithic machine which strangled the revolution.

October is also the 30th anniversary of the Hungarian rebellion of 1956 which is the most celebrated of the many revolts against Stalinist rule. The following books are a small contribution to the process of demystification of those events and a call for renewing the struggle against all forms of domination.

HISTORY OF THE MAKHNOVIST MOVEMENT

by P. Arshinov

History of the anarchist peasant revolution in the Ukraine with telling revelations about the nature of "revolutionary" Bolshevik military and social policy. Written by a participant in the Makhnovist movement.

Black & Red

\$2.50

THE KRONSTADT UPRISING OF 1921

by Lynn Thorndycraft

Story of the heroic Kronstadt uprising against Bolshevik tyranny and its ruthless suppression by the leninists.

Left Bank Books 26pp 50 cents

BOLSHEVIKS & WORKERS CONTROL

by Maurice Brinton

An excellent chronology and analysis of the Bolshevik betrayal of the revolution from the seizure of the factories to the crushing of the Kronstadt Commune.

Black & Red

100pp.

\$1.95

THE POVERTY OF STATISM: A DEBATE

by Fabbri, Rocker, Bukharin

Contains Nikolai Bukharin's officially-sponsored attack on anarchism published in the Soviet Union in 1922, and Luigi Fabbri's reply published in Italy the same year. Also, two articles by Rudolf Rocker, "Anarchism and Sovietism," and "Marx and Anarchism."

Gienfuegos Press

\$3.50

HUNGARY '56

by Andy Anderson

The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 has always been trumpeted by the West as "proof" that people bridling under "communism" desire instead capitalist life. Anderson's thorough account of the October events gives the full panorama of the revolt against the stalinist bureaucracy which contained the potential for universal forms of freedom—the workers' councils. The text and the excellent photos bring events to life rich with humans in a fight for freedom. Solidarity/Black & Red 138pp \$1.75

A Kelly job is freedom



KELLY The Kelly Girl People
SERVICES

Ad, Detroit Free Press, 1986 — Gates of Dachau, 1945: "Work Makes You Free"

MORE NEWS & Reviews

Continued from Page 18

against a political firing. Hochschild says the dismissal came about because of Moore's problems with the staff.

In any event, Michael is now portrayed as a Mid-Western naïf, seduced and abandoned in the big city, his dreams and career in shambles, having foolishly let his paper back home, *The Michigan Voice*, collapse in favor of his ill-fated San Francisco job. All said, it's still hard for us to work up much sympathy for Moore even though he may have gotten screwed. Essentially this is a dispute involving upper management—how bosses relate to one another and to their staff. When bosses fight among themselves—even if they are liberals—it just doesn't cut much slack with us since our chosen mode of decision making—the collective—is at total variance with the authoritarian and traditionalist way things are done at *Mother Jones*.

The other end of the "tragedy," that Moore's move ended *The Michigan Voice*, seems strange to us as well. Why does a paper collapse because its editor leaves? In all honesty, *The Michigan Voice* never commanded the interest or readership it was touted as having by people like Cockburn and supporters. Although Moore's paper had tens of thousands of dollars pumped into it through grants and star-studded benefits, and featured a slick, full-color format similar to *Rolling Stone*, its existence was so tenuous that when the boss left, it collapsed.

What is closer to the truth is that *The Michigan Voice*'s tepid left-liberal politics, with its focus on electoralism, civil liberties and exposes of civic abuses, created a paper without an ounce of oomph that appealed to only a narrow spectrum of comfortable liberals.

At a recent Detroit lecture where Moore shared the speaker's platform with Cockburn, he spoke at length on the need

for extensive financing for alternative publications to keep them afloat. When a *Fifth Estate* staff member in the audience replied that, to the contrary, it was reader support and not rich angels which should be the basis of a paper's existence, and that the FE had never received a donation larger than \$200 even when it was publishing weekly in the 1960's, Moore just looked blank and went on to the next question.

There is another interesting irony missed by those who were not privileged to hear Moore's lecture. After a laboriously long-winded harangue against the Detroit *News* and *Free Press* for their flattening of reality and distortion of complex political issues (with all the almost embarrassingly histrionic indignation at this unsurprising state of affairs so typical of rad-lib types), he came to rather astonishing conclusions: "When Reagan declares 'I am a contra,' we've got to stop equivocating," he argued, and called for a dramatic and simple reaction which could be "understood" by people. "We've got to respond, 'I'm a Sandinista,'" he said, thus missing altogether the irony of calling for a "left press" which mirrors exactly the form and the operational character of the capitalist mass media. Of course, this happens to be what all reformist and leftist politicians want to do, just as they want to create an industrial, hierarchic society where they dictate policy to "the masses"—including defining reality in "simple and dramatic" ways.

This turned out to be a central issue in his firing. Moore objected to printing an article by Paul Berman, a New York *Village Voice* writer who, although critical of U.S. Central American policy, also voices strong criticism of the Sandinistas as undemocratic and becoming more authoritarian. Moore responded, that "no magazine under my name will come out that says that stuff about the Sandinistas."

Although Cockburn has charged that Berman's flawed social-democratic analy-

sis at times could dove-tail with the murderous conspirators in the White House, the *Fifth Estate* is no stranger to criticisms of the Nicaraguan government (see FE Summer 1985).

No one should be surprised that when an armed party of stalinist-castrist politicians and priests seizes power in a small neo-colony, they begin the project of the consolidation of their power, the centralization of the police, the army, and the capitalization and development sector. The leninists and the christian symps in the US like Moore think that people will be confused if any criticism of "el proceso" in Nicaragua is criticized, that only a crude propaganda of a nazi-yanqui Reagan crushing a christian-marxist People's Utopia is appropriate.

This is only a variation of the old theme of defending the "soviet motherland" from imperialism and from those who might criticize the workers' paradise, or their song about the Spanish Republic (as communist cops were massacring revolutionary workers in dungeons in Barcelona and militarily attacking revolutionary councils). The leftists would like to repeat their simple and dramatic fables about nationalist revolutions in the third world in order to maintain ideological hegemony among those who might act to oppose the US empire and its war machine. A binary oppositional formula, not truth, is what counts, comrade, when keeping the masses in a nice, disciplined line.

Mother Jones "will survive this crisis," wrote a *Guardian* commentator. "But it—and the left as a whole—will be the worse for it." But the left is living a lie; if its lie is debunked once and for all it may be all the worse for the left, but it can only be a step forward for authentic radical transformation. As for *Mother Jones*, it's hard to imagine that its demise would be anything other than a matter of supreme indifference, even to the left.

The final chapter in this mess has not been written since Moore has begun a law suit for breach of contract against *MJ* for a cool \$2 million after spurning a \$50,000 severance offer from the mag. Ultimately, how dull this all is when you think of the many exciting, self-published newspapers and zines that are cropping up all around the country. You can check out the magazine Factsheet Five for address listings: 6 Arizona Avenue, Rensselaer, NY 12144.

♦ ♦ ♦

The Collapse of the Empire and other Erotic Fantasies from The Peace Mob, 1035 Revere, San Francisco CA 94124 (priceless, so try \$5). Greg Fain delivers great lyrics with scalpel and axe on this 45 minute cassette. My personal favorites include "Homo Ferox" and "America Can't Come," but the guy really needs a band here. The lone electric guitar usually pales next to the sneering vocals, even with the techno-aid of foot pedals and electronic effects.

It wouldn't have to be a bass and drums, just some additional people making noise so you'd want to still hear it after you've caught all the lines. And with lyrics like this, Fain should have little trouble attracting some intense music makers. "It's raining, it's pouring, the government is snoring" in "Acid Raid" made me drive off the road (so I could catch the rest). Like, may this mob grow and grow.

—Bill Blank

Letters to the Fifth Estate

Pretty Bad Taste

Dear FE,

The Christians to the lions stuff in the last issue was in pretty bad taste. The original victims of the Roman state were communal, love-thy-neighbor, subversive types, much different from today's fundamentalist/fascist types. And even then, I don't think it would be very appropriate to feed *anyone* to lions, but I'm probably being my humorless self.

Against all authority,
Ed Slyboots
Lawrence KS

The lions respond: We don't want Christians with good taste; we want Christians who taste good!

Zeal to Possess

Dear Folks at FE,

Since I've read everything appreciable in my personal library, I'm rereading old issues of the FE which never seem to lose their vitality. "Anarchism in the Age of Reagan" is an especially pertinent article, and I thought I'd comment on it.

While I agree that the facade of modern capitalism is deteriorating—and the incongruities of the system are as manifest now than any time in the past—it would not seem that the people amidst its putrefaction are giving any mass indication of conscious rejection. Anti-authoritarians provide repeated examples of this assumed repudiation of capitalism—from employee theft to the willingness of people to loot and shoplift—but this simply points out the narcissism spawned by acquisition of commodities.

Most people—middle class Americans, that is, the majority, albeit a shrinking majority—give little indication of discarding the intrinsic tenets of capitalism. Rather, they attempt to circumvent the system in their zeal to possess commodities ad nauseam. Granted, they are alienated by this process and the contradictions of living under modern capitalism, but I'm certain they would readily reject anybody who would suggest they give up their cherished possessions in order to live a better life. The modern credo—exemplified by a popular bumpersticker—is: I owe, I owe, so off to work I go. With this mentality, coupled with a conviction that through materialism and acquisition we gain freedom, can we ever hope to achieve a "paradise renewed"?

I hate to sound pessimistic and nihilistic, but I do not hold much hope for the future of (western) mankind, especially with the depth of the indoctrination of the people. I'm afraid we'll need to experience a formidable crisis—such as another depression with mass starvation and un-

paralleled suffering (in short, the absolute collapse of capitalism)—before people realize the malodorous character of the system and endeavor to supplant it. I'm afraid nuclear war will arrive before that can ever happen.

Pace Verde,
Kurt Nimmo
Detroit

FE Mascot

Hi FE people:

If you would like my cat Anarchy as your mascot (anarchy is notorious—bites, claws and scratches everyone including me), I will gladly mail her to you at no cost to you.

Lamprine Sakkas
Newark, New Jersey

Bicycle World

Dear Friends,

I became aware of your publication while visiting the Alternative Bookshop in Montreal. The Fifth Estate is a superb newspaper, inspiring and well written.

Eleven years ago we started out as an organization struggling for the political rights of urban bicyclists in the Montreal region. There was a constantly growing amount of bicyclists and no facilities to permit them to commute safely. Through our efforts, both theatrical and traditional and two brief sojourns in prison by Claire Morissette and myself resulting from our zealous efforts to obtain subway access and a commuter bicycle path, Montreal has become much more cycleable.

We won bridge access over the St. Lawrence River Bridges to the South Shore suburbs, subway access for bicycles on weekends and after 7 p.m. during the week, an important North-South bicycle artery leading to downtown where a small fence protects cyclists from cars and where the curb lane has been given over to the exclusive use of bicycle traffic. Previously the cars had the space. Much safer bicycle parking has also been installed. So we won more than half of our demands although the city is still not yet Amsterdam or Hanoi. As we won, energy and commitment to the movement diminished as is natural.

Our newspaper has been publishing for 10 years. At first it was mostly bicycle related. Recently, however, because of our victories and other reasons, we have been trying to produce an alternative bilingual paper where the bicycle struggle news is limited to one quarter or so of the content and where the bicycle becomes a symbol or metaphor for the world we want: accessible, open, efficient, quiet, peaceful, pretty, non-hierarchical, cooperative and clean.

We consider the bicycle to be the best friend of an anarchist. It enables us in the cities to often bypass the radical monopoly of the car. As you know the radical monopoly of the automobile was artificially constructed over the years. It began with General Motors, assisted by Standard Oil and Firestone, buying up and destroying America's streetcar systems. They were even convicted of these heinous crimes in a Chicago court in 1959. (U.S. Ground Transport, Bradford Snell, U.S. Library of Congress). Afterwards municipal, state and federal governments spent billions on roads and neglected mass transport.

So, as a result, even the simplest mobility required a car. The bike's a way around this deadly monopoly. Daniel Behrman thinks the bicycle is a tool for revolution and Ivan Illich said that "Socialism can only come by bicycle".

Robert Silverman
Le Monde a Bicyclette
C.P. 1242, Succ. "La Cite"
Montreal, Quebec H2W 2R3
Canada

Cross of Bills

Dear FE:

Thanks for crediting the *LOOKOUT* for the graphic "Evolution of the UPC" (Vol. 20, No. 4, Summer 1986), but the credit really belongs to the artist Winston Smith, who's also renowned for his DEAD KENNEDYS album cover for "In God We Trust, Inc.," featuring "The Lord" crucified on a cross of dollar bills. Winston also puts out an occasional zine called *FALLOUT* which is loaded with similarly brilliant graphics. Back issues are two bucks or so. Your readers might be interested and the FE could probably use some of them, too. Winston's address: POB 1535, Ukiah CA 95482.

Lawrence Livermore
Laytonville CA

Isms Are Wasms

Dear FE:

Recently while rehashing the old "should we call ourselves anarchists?" dilemma with a friend, I heard for probably the hundredth time that the word anarchist could only exist if there were an *anarchism*, and since all isms were structured doctrines, which my friend rejects, he should reject the label *anarchist*.

Well, of all the arguments I've heard in favor of not being labelled an anarchist, this is the one that I've always questioned the most. Do all isms have to be structured doctrine? Did the anarchist come from *anarchism* or did the anarchism

come from the *anarchist*? I decided to finally put my curiosity to rest and to look up every acknowledged (in reference sources that is) *ism* and *ist* to try to draw some conclusions on this. (If anyone's interested they can write me for a good list.) I'm also trying to find the first references to the words anarchist and anarchism to see which was used first. When I return home after the summer I'll find out and share my discoveries with you.

In the meanwhile, my study of the meanings of the suffixes *ism* and *ist* does not *prove* that the meaning of anarchist isn't someone who adheres to an *ism*, a doctrine, but it does definitely prove that as a linguistic unit *ism* or *ist* doesn't imply this; only popular usage implies it. *Isms*, as defined by the Oxford, is: [used generically as an independent word] a form of doctrine, theory or practice, having or claiming to have a distinctive character or relation: chiefly used disparagingly and sometimes with implied reference to schism.

Upon further reading, I found that its Greek root, *isma*, expressed the finished act of things done.

Isms is a descriptive term for doctrines, or for principles such as: atheism, egotism, jingoism, hedonism, libertinism, realism, stoicism, etc.

It can express action, conduct or habitually doing something, such as: desperadoism, autoeroticism, malapropism, quixoticism, recidivism, solecism, etc.

It can express use, in words as: L.S. Deism, epigrammatism, hyperbolism, narcotism, euphemism, hypnotism, magnetism, etc.

It can denote a characteristic, especially pertaining to language, such as: archaism, colloquialism, witticism, anglicism, Americanism, westernism, etc.

It can take the characteristic of a person, like Leninism, McCarthyism, or the one I coined, Eichmanism.

It can indicate condition, like: barbarism, deaf mutism, orphanism, parallelism, etc.

Continued on Next Page

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recently changed. I've been transferred down from Matsqui prison to a lower security prison (William Head prison) on Vancouver Island.

My new mailing address is: P. O. Box 4000, Stn. A, Victoria, B.C. V8X 3Y8 Canada.

I really enjoy the FE. It's a major source of strength for me and I would hate to miss even one issue.

I've noticed you receive both support and flack from your readers for your simple society/pro-nature approach to anarchism. Well, you can count me in as one of your staunch supporters for what it's worth. Personally I find the FE viewpoint a refreshing bit of life in what is otherwise rapidly becoming a high tech necropolis. As a dedicated heretic, I must challenge this newly fabricated religion, which repulses me as much as the old one. I find it equally as alienating, dehumanizing, enslaving and mesmerizing as christianity.

Like christianity—and all of the other patriarchal, institutionalized religions—I find that any good which it can claim to have effected in the world is far outweighed by the bad. I'm convinced freedom is a condition of nature and not something which can be created by a machine.

Unfortunately, as I'm sure you can guess, I'm not doing a hell of a lot of dancing in the forest these days. Still, prison life could be worse. At least this prison looks a bit better than the last one.

Here at William Head there are lots of trees, tall grasses and rocky outcrops and we are surrounded on 3 sides by the sea. There are animals too: cats, geese, racoons, deer, seals, orcas. Of course, there are still the typical prison head-games and power trips and it can get extraordinarily depressing at times.

Lately I've been writing and playing a lot of music, reading a hell of a lot of books, setting up a visual education program, taking university courses and enjoying the limited, but impressive by prison standards, outdoors.

From what I understand the 3 other comrades are doing okay: Doug was recently transferred down in security to Matsqui and only has 2 years to do before they have to release him on "mandatory supervision;" Brent was apparently having a bit of trouble with some other folks at Milhaven, but that seems to have passed and he's recently been approved for a transfer to lower security as well; reports have it that Ann has run out of things to do and, consequently, has engaged in a bit of rebellion, which has cost her, but fortunately, the womyn is strong. As for Julie, contact with her has been severed, so no one's too sure what she's up to. I think most of us feel sorry for her, but her betrayal is difficult to forgive.

Well, I guess that's it for now. So take care my friends, stay strong and drop a line sometime if you feel like it. Long live brotherhood and sisterhood! Long live Mother Earth! Long live anarchy!

In love and struggle, your bro,
Gerry Hannah
Victoria, B.C.

Vancouver 4 - 2

Dear Fifth Estate,

I applaud your proposal to publish an issue on trees and forests. My personal area of especial interest is logging and the

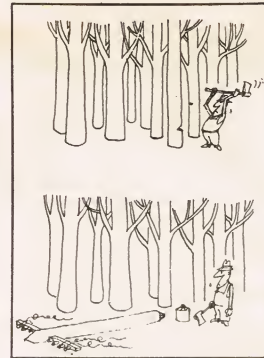
other activities of the "forest industry."

A point that I think is insufficiently appreciated is the distinction between arguments for the defence of the natural environment that are based on the interest of the environment itself. A human-centered argument might run, for example, that a particular forest should not be logged because it would not be economically viable and would require government subsidy, because it would damage salmon streams and hence the fishing industry, because it would impair "scenic and recreational values" and hence tourist industry profits, or because in some other way it would hurt our collective long-term interests.

On the other hand, an environment-centered argument might be that the natural ecology of the forest has value and importance in and of itself and should not be wantonly devastated, and that even if on the whole we do benefit from the activities of the forest industry, nevertheless we are obligated to restrain it in order to protect the land and all its inhabitants.

The former view is essentially a pragmatic and selfish one. The latter view is a moral one and rests on a spiritual perspective of the human situation in the world; needless to say, it does not have much popular political appeal.

A second point I would like to make consists of a different but analogous pair of views having to do with the ecological impact of the forest industry. The forest companies endeavor to constrain public debate to issues of specific practices, as for example, the benefits of leaving buffer zones between logged areas and water courses or of implementing proper replanting techniques. The implication is that if only the forests were responsibly managed, then "sustainable yield" could be maintained indefinitely without long-term harm to the forest ecology.



Spanish anarchist militiamen shoot at statue of Christ near Madrid, 1936. Photo from *The Spanish Civil War*, Antony Beevor, Peter Bedrick Books, 239 Central Park West NY NY 10024, 1982.

Lost Its Soul

Dear FE:

As a christian anarchist I read your article "Christians to the Lions" (Summer 1986 FE) with interest and amusement. Although I have already stated in these pages (See "Anarchy & Christianity: An Exchange," in the Summer 1984 FE) that I agree with many of your criticisms of my religion's bloody history, as an unabashed leftist there are a few points I would like to respond to.

You equate christianity with the "mystico-technocratic anthill," patriarchal authority, tyranny, bureaucracy. No doubt your encounters with right-wing christians picketing the film "Hail Mary" give you good reason to feel this way.

However, what puzzles me is the "christians to the lions" motif that runs through the article. As you know, christianity came from an area of the world that was under the boot of the Roman state. Christ was executed between two criminals because he dared to challenge that power... For the first few hundred years of its history christianity was essentially an underground religion, meetings were held in secret because the Romans would give the christians over to the death squads to be tortured and, yes, thrown to the lions, because they refused to bow down before the state idols and instead worshipped in their own creative fashion, conspiring together and holding all their goods in

to the long term.

The slow, cautious, "reasonable" approach certainly has advantages and I am not suggesting that it be completely abandoned. However, I am suggesting that environmental activists consider the advantages of publicly and clearly presenting the moral, political and ecological arguments that justify their ultimate aspirations.

Doug Stewart
Matsqui Prison, POB 4000
Abbotsford, BC V2S 4P3
Canada

FE Note: We are still planning to produce a special issue on trees and forests, and seek articles, excerpts and graphics concerning trees in all their ecological and mythopoetic dimensions. All correspondence will be answered, all ideas seriously considered. Send to The Fifth Estate, Box 02548, Detroit MI 48202 USA.

common.

For the first three hundred years it was also unthinkable for a christian to accept conscription and fight in the imperial occupation forces, and it was only with the conversion of Emperor Constantine in 312 AD and his dictum, "In this sign [the cross] shall you conquer," that all this changed. In short, christianity lost its soul as a spiritual force as soon as it was accepted as the state religion by imperial power. The rest is history. The central historical mistake of the early christians is that they were too successful. As William Reich said in *The Murder of Christ*, "A thing is often accepted as it can be all the more destroyed." So in an ironic sort of way, yes, we were better off when we were being thrown to the lions.

But today there is a new spirit blowing through the land... There are now christians in every part of the country getting arrested and going to jail (the oft-mentioned fate of our early predecessors), some for up to eighteen years, for faithful acts of defiance to demonic powers in high places.

At a conference of the U.S. War College a speaker was quoted as saying, "The greatest challenge we face today comes from the churches." And although I will freely admit that in many ways our steps have been tentative and not always with a major impact on those under the gun of current despotic power, I am proud to be

Continued on Page 23

Continued from Previous Page

a part of this new conspiracy of conscience and I feel it to be in the truest sense our heritage and tradition . . .

Bill McCormick
Decatur, Georgia

George Bradford responds: Despite the persecution of the followers of Jesus by the Roman Empire, a persecution they shared with many other primitivist cults during that period of collapse, their religion rapidly became the foundation for this civilization, which in murder and repression has far surpassed all previous leviathans.

The "success" of this cult among many in elevating itself to a state religion is a question which should be confronted by all those who consider themselves radical followers of the cult or, as someone said in another, related context, the criticism of religion is the beginning of all criticism.

"Initially the rebellious visionaries were at one with every life-affirming strain, and they apparently borrowed freely from all of them," writes Fredy Perlman in *Against His-story, Against Leviathan*. "But as soon as they define themselves as Christians, they have to make it clear . . . just how they differ" from the other mystery cults. "Once they turn away from other resisters, it does not take the Christians long to turn against them . . . First they turn against the way others affirm life, gradually they turn against life." So the organization develops hierarchy, each circle becomes a church. Eventually, "the Churches are starting to look like provinces of the Roman Empire; all that's missing is the Emperor." The foundations for the leviathan are already laid. Constantine simply steps in to fulfill his role. The visions become a reified gospel, the shepherds become simultaneous shepherds of the cult and officials of the Empire. Christianity has ceased to be a Way, a resistance movement, and has become a religion. As Fredy writes, "The resistance has come to power, but its first aim is to liquidate all resistance." Such has been the history of christianity since that time.

As for the heretical traditions in christianity (see Norman Cohn's *Pursuit of the Millennium*), such outbursts of the original impulse were consistently crushed by those who held power in the christian world. While primitivist christian rebels were superseding christian civilization by creating communes based on freedom, ecstatic community, and the pleasure principle, the hierarchs were defending the cross with the sword by crushing such manifestations of freedom in Europe and waging bloody crusades, eventually in the animist world as well. It is possible that the present upsurge of so-called liberation theology represents a recuperation similar to that of the Franciscan movement of those times, that is, as a reformist order which could draw rebels and heretics away from genuinely dangerous currents and back into the hierarchic church. Wherever the radical (repressed) prehistory of primitive communism emerges, the churches respond, bringing with them their anti-nature and anti-pleasure foundations.

In Latin America, liberation theology and leftism come from the jesuitical tra-



Their true selves revealed? No, Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter are guilty of bigger crimes than this Aug. 4 bank robbery in Mt. Washington, Ohio. The duo above wore look-alike president masks and brandished sawed off shot-guns in several recent bank hold-ups.

dition. While they are both a response to and a catalyst for radicalization, both—despite possible short-term gains—may ultimately serve only to corral revolt into modernized forms of "progressive," national capitalism. (It should come as no surprise that in Latin America christians function in bureaucratic popular fronts with authoritarian marxists; both are police ideologies.)

In the past you described yourself as more a taoist than a christian; I'm disappointed that you've forsaken the anarchic primitivism of the Tao for the guilt-drenched charade of christianity. I'm glad some christians oppose nukes and run food kitchens. Perhaps the christians whose religion has destroyed so much, and who believe in the necessity of "atonement" for sin, should be doing so. But none of that lessens the importance of stating the reactionary character of christian civilization and the serious limitations of the christian discourse. The memory-less christian "love" barely conceals even a shred of the incredible violence and repression that hold the present configuration of power together. The christian hierarchs now sit where once the Roman rulers sat; they need to be nudged, firmly, into their own arena. The (lion's) tongue-in-cheek suggestion of the anti-christian declaration in the last issue was for them; they should learn to take a hint. As for our christian friends whose courageous acts of defiance and humanity indirectly legitimate the ideology of the hierarchs, they should learn to take a (bitter) joke. "He who is not with me is against me," said your god-man. So be it.



Devilfish
(about 20 ft. across)

Critical Flab

FE Staff:

The rhetoric and pretensions of your journal do not liberate you from a revolutionary criteria that demands coherence, that values deeds over words, and does not have a soft-spot in its head for tear jerking sentiments and sacrifices.

And applying this criteria to the FE, a criteria that had once appeared to be the point of departure for the entire project, gives your recent efforts (Summer 1986 FE) a quality of despair and resignation. At once you present visions that

are mutually exclusive, uncontested I might add, and abandon ground previously gained by critical analysis in other issues.

Bill McCormick's "Remembering Kent State" was particularly objectionable. How can you print that with the "Christians to the Lions!" piece? How can an article from a member of the Catholic Workers, those idiots, be presented under the same hood as an open letter that so venomously denounces everything about christian civilization?

Despite your ludicrous pluralism, how does such a bland collection of left/liberal sentiments (with its anecdotal style) find its way into a publication that aspires "to suggest new terrains for contestation." Such a publishing strategy not only conspires against the radical use of ideas, but relegates the FE to the ranks of such miserable rags as the N.Y. Times or The Village Voice.

However, I do not mean to imply that by excluding McCormick's article your publication would have been palatable: the "critical flab" is evident elsewhere. For instance, there's the "Terrorism & Media" article: isn't the solution to the (immediate) problems of tv as simple as not having one?

Or the Haymarket commemoration and Spain articles that barely even hint at the acute and profound problematics of anarchism. And there was "The Plan" article; offering no analysis of why a proposed incinerator in Detroit could lead to a "direct confrontation with industrial society and its power structure" while victims of Three Mile Island, Chernobyl, and Love Canal, etc. have apparently not even considered such a struggle. I could go on.

While looking through past issues of the FE I came upon much that exposes a number of the forementioned articles as pure regressions in qualitative steps the FE had taken. In one issue G. Bradford did an excellent job illuminating the backwardness of Christian resistance (appropriately juxtaposed to letters from McCormick and another dummy). The cover of another issue was graced with the statement "Turn It Off!" containing an exten-

Due to space considerations, some of the letters on these pages may have been excerpted. We ask that letter writers make their remarks as concise as possible.

sive article by E.B. Maple on why TVs should be dumped. Also, hasn't it been established that "anarchist industrial collectives" (Porter, "Spain '36") are far from desirable? I could go on.

I wonder if you are denying that your arguments can and do have consequences; considering that past advances have not helped determine current practice (at least as far as the FE is concerned). Reassuring or not, your publication has had consequences for me: enough so that I can say with certainty that the FE has become quite pathetic.

For myself, and others I know, the FE's decomposition is a point of departure: I will use what I've learned from the FE and publications like it and go further. However, I suggest you bag the whole project if you can't do better.

C.W. Morse
Poughkeepsie NY

E.B. Maple replies: There is something myopic and linear about an approach to criticism which sees only the immediate and neglects the totality. You sing the praises of our past efforts, but when you come upon one issue containing several articles with which you have disagreements, you perceive us to be suddenly in such a state of terminal decomposition that your only remedy is to throw years of our effort into the waste basket.

There is an ideological arrogance here as well that insists on a rigid conformity in every paragraph to *your* view of what critical theory should be, without which a coherence is lost leaving our readers in a state of confusion. To you, an article you agree with in a previous issue is somehow negated by the appearance of one with which you don't agree in another edition.

If I can remain undeterred in my opposition to religion by Bill McCormick's mentioning in passing that he is a christian anarchist in an article condemning state murders, I assume other readers will be immune as well. No one is going to think we've gone soft on religion after reading our "Christians to the Lions" article, and to contend that the simultaneous printing of McCormick's piece is an example of "pluralism" hopelessly misunderstands the concept.

Similarly, over the years we have published material critical of the Spanish revolution and anarchism, but that was not what was under discussion in our last issue. We asked David Porter to write a short, commemorative piece about a moment in human history *worth* celebrating even with all of its flaws and we were satisfied with the results.

It is relatively easy to strike a pose of being aghast at our "critical flab," just as it is easy to write off the experiences of millions of revolutionary Spanish workers and peasants with glib hind-sights about industrialism. What is more difficult would have been to add to the discussion by raising your specific "problematics of anarchism" rather than to just assert authoritatively that something has been "established" and, hence, closed.

Actually, it seems a bit "flabby" of you to counterpose what was a thoughtful critique of how the manufacture of images insulates power with the simplistic notion that you turning off your set alleviates the problem. None of us here are TV watch-

Continued on Next Page

Terrorism, USA

Dear Fifth Estate:

The news is dreadful and chilling—innocent American citizens slaughtered in cold-blooded disregard. Victims stabbed, beaten, shot or bombed into oozing shards regardless of age or infirmity. This is Detroit—where more Americans are killed monthly, and regularly, then the combined number of U.S. "terrorist" victims during the last decade overseas. Isn't it time for an airstrike?

Despite the hysteria manipulated by politicians and the media to whip American blood into patriotic fervor, terrorism is on the rise right inside the U.S.A. It's being exported by America and, considering the methods used against Native Americans in our acquisition of these territories, terrorism is as American as apple pie.

Even by definitions acceptable to popular fantasy, terror is on the rise, and it is right-wing, patriotic American terror: the hostage-taking and firebombing of elementary school children in Cokesville, Wyoming last May 16 by Posse Comitatus members—a para-military right-wing outfit which tried to get \$300 million ransom from authorities in a scheme that literally blew up in their faces; the increasing anti-Arab violence within this country, specifically, the murder of Alex Odeh, the regional director of the Arab Anti-discrimination Committee, in Santa Ana, California on October 11, 1985; the recent bombings by white separatists in Idaho; the fire-bombing of abortion clinics by right-wing Christians; the attempted fire-bombing of cars in California by Frank Camper, director of the Mercenary School in Alabama. It would be interesting to discover just how many people in Latin

America were slaughtered by some of Camper's graduates of "exported terrorism" funded by discreet right-wing organizations in America.

We are talking about Terrorism, pardner, the kind that editorial writers here would prefer not to talk about. It is more popular to keep an Arab face on the subject, ignoring the fact that while Khadafi and his ilk may have dirty hands, the CIA issued handbooks to Contras and trained them to use the most up-to-date methods of terror, including torture and assassination, to help "pacify" border villages in Nicaragua (methods, by the way, perfected by the Green Berets in South Vietnamese hamlets).

The recent shift of "terrorist" attacks in the Middle East and Europe directed toward Americans and American targets



began when the U.S. abandoned its neutral facade and took an active role in supporting Israel and Lebanese Phalangists during Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1983. Aside from the fact that the Israelis bombed Beirut neighborhoods with American cluster bombs and shelled Lebanese villages with American tanks and artillery, it must be remembered that the "neutral" and "peacekeeping" U.S. forces committed appalling acts of officially sanctioned "terrorism" against the Druze and Shi-ite peoples in September

1983.

Responding to the Phalangists' appeal for aid in their battle against the Druze and Shi-ites at Suk al Gharb, Robert McFarlane, then National Security Advisor, avoided the Joint Chiefs of Staff's prohibition from engaging in combat by creating a totally bogus claim that the U.S. forces were acting in self-defense. Reagan officially authorized this naval bombardment in which no less than seventy heavy rounds were fired into Lebanese coastal villages by the U.S.S. *New Jersey* and *Virginia*.

Good Idea

Hi FE Friends,

Loved the "FE staff photo"!! (See front page of FE Summer 1986 issue.)

I liked the idea of giving the paper free for people in Exile (the armed services). Back in 1971 or 72 I received one that way when I was in the navy.

Love and Anarchy,
Harry, Lexington, VA

Goldman Show

Dear Folks,

I am trying to raise funds to produce my original one-woman show about Emma Goldman, here in New York City and elsewhere. Some of you may have seen the

show on May 1st in Chicago at the Haymarket Gathering. We believe it is a timely show, which needs to be seen by the general public in order to educate them about who Emma was and what her anarchist philosophy was all about. Emma's own belief was that "the drama" is one of the most powerful tools of propaganda that exists.

All donations/contributions are tax-deductible (for those who pay taxes) and should be made out to the producing organization: The Original Cast, 310 W. 49 Street, Suite 4B, New York City, NY 10019; and should be earmarked for "Emma". This is a non-profit theatre company dedicated to developing and producing new playwrights and their plays. At present, The Original Cast and I are pursuing all funding sources short

In so doing, he essentially came to the aid of and openly sanctioned the forces responsible for the unconscionable massacres at Sabra and Shatilla. Officially, the U.S. action in Lebanon is not described as "terror" by the media or by the government here because there were flags flying and insignia bared. But from all available physiological reports, Arab babies bleed, and Arab peoples do have memories.

In light of this blatant U.S. support of Phalangist factions and Israeli interests, the kamikaze style bombing of the U.S. marine base in Beirut in October 1983 was clearly an act of war and not an act of "terrorism."

Indeed, it must seem that the West is reviving the crusades of centuries past when European armies quixotically rallied to "liberate" Jerusalem. Since Israel is in fact a western power—a geographical and geopolitical anomaly—the Mideast power struggle represents the realization of a consistent drive embedded in Judeo-Christian consciousness since the debacle of the Crusades. These religious powers seem to be repeating and compounding a historic error. Many thousands have died over misguided religious adventurism.

The decadence of daily life in this cut-throat consumer-crazed society forms the basis of an increasingly pervasive domestic terror that has no particular face, but can be seen almost everywhere. It is the terror of daily life. While tourists while that it is unsafe to travel abroad, we forget how unsafe it is for a woman to walk down an American city street. There is the terror of the market place, of careers, of shattered life. While there is a yearly increase in the rate of youth suicides—Artaud would say that they are being "suicided" by society, as was the case, he claims, with Van Gogh—there is the terror of children left in dumpsters.

The terror embedded in society is not merely the terror of crime, but that too is beyond epidemic. It is the terror of nature itself recoiling. It is instinctive, every animal flees and there is a hush in the forest when we enter. There is a hush in the wind and a hiss in the stinking waters, in the food that is poisoned. It is the fear of a tamed and timid beast, shorn and penned. It is the terror of a child prodded out of bed and sent to school in the morning. If not for fear there would not be this society, for terror is the motive, the grease in the gears, the axle that turns the wheel. Who would go to work tomorrow but for the terror of survival in conditions we scarcely control?

—Pat the Rat

Continued from Previous Page

ers and most of us don't own a set, but the almost total proliferation of television among the American people creates the context where one is forced to respond to the mass images they consume, since it is so often those images which shape political discourse. We will know we are getting somewhere when that situation begins to erode, but an examination of the process of submission to media seems appropriate to me.

But don't let me be overly defensive. If our publication is no longer of interest to you, if you think we have retreated from past positions, your desire to speak in even more radical terms is nothing we have any quarrel with. If you complete something of interest that "goes further," send us the results.

of state funding, which wouldn't be at all appropriate for a show about Emma, don't you think? We hope to raise enough money to produce the show here in NYC, and also hope to be able to send the show to other parts of the country/world. Thanks.

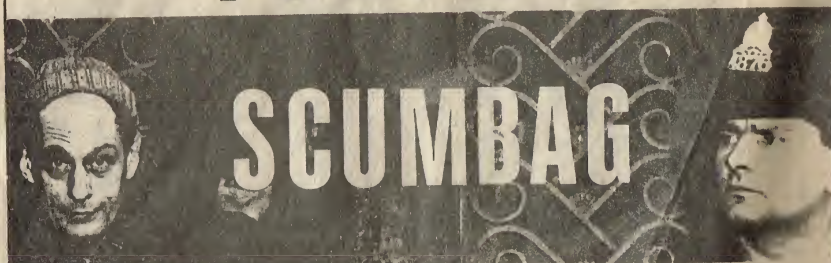
Salud y libertad,
Mindy Washington
New York City NY



POLITICAL

SCUMBAG

KICKS OFF



FE Note: The leaflet reproduced on this page was issued following the death late last year of Quebec's nationalist politician and ex-premier of the province, Rene Levesque. It was posted in several locations in Montreal including Cafe Commune/Comun, a libertarian, worker-run restaurant and gathering place for leftists, as well as anti-authoritarians. Apparently nationalism runs high even in places where one would least expect it, and the leaflet was torn down by persons unknown. Two meetings were held at the Cafe during which the author was asked to explain his motives for publishing rather than to ask who had taken it upon themselves to become the official political censor of the Cafe. As of this writing, the question remains unresolved.

The tears have dried and the media circus winds down—as good a time as any to step back and take a second look at the career of Rene Levesque. The question, of course, was never whether Levesque was sympathique. Whatever their ideology, the ability of politicians to seduce us is simply yet another example of the emotional impoverishment that permits their existence: if we were really alive, we would live without them.

Levesque, the media inform us, incarnated a vision. But there is nothing visionary about forming a state (a system of domination). As Fredy Perlman points out, "Nationalism is the opposite of imperialism only in the realm of definitions. In practice, nationalism is a methodology for conducting the empire of capital." A new elite emerges and pushes out the old. "Our" bosses replace "their" bosses. And the misery of daily life goes on. As the ravages inflicted upon community by industrial capitalism continue to increase, nationalists have only false communities (states) to offer.

The left and right wings of national liberation movements are simply expressions of the left and right of capitalism. Nowhere here are the state, money, work and industrial civilization—the pillars of modern domination—questioned and rejected. At the extremes of this ideology one finds the various national socialisms (Castro, Hitler, Mao, etc.) or nationalisms without pretensions of socialism (Pinocchet's Chile). In between is everyone who, as Perlman says, "wields or aspires to wield a portion of capital." If the more pedestrian Parti Quebecois' left/right coalition eventually blew apart, a regrouping of sorts seems to be taking place around L'Aut' Journal (20,000 copies/issue), where FMLN press releases bump against full-page articles by the president of the ultra-reactionary Societe Saint Jean-Baptiste. Left or right, cultural/political vanguards never seem to know their place—the garbage dump of history.

Ironically, nothing is more deadly to culture and community than the alienated, rapidly industrializing model championed by Levesque and the Parti Quebecois. As the myth of progress crumbles, though, it is more and more apparent that humans are no longer the initiators, the subjects of technological change: we have become the objects of a megamachine that is totally out of control. And when the Sandinistas and the International Monetary Fund propose the same seemingly universal model of industrial development, it only proves how deeply the logic of capital has penetrated.

It would be mistaken, therefore, to interpret the apparent demise of the Parti Quebecois as a positive event. Nationalism remains very much alive and the reigning mood of cynicism cannot be considered equivalent to an anti-political critique: people were easily taken in by the next racket (the Montreal Citizens Movement) to come along. Only when the edifice of power itself is rejected will real change become possible.

—Montreal, November 1987/PRIMITIVE NATURE

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Spring 1988

\$.75, (higher outside U.S.)

Fifth estate



bits of the world in brief



Planning for Anarchist Gathering '88

A meeting to plan the 1988 Anarchist Gathering was held Sept. 12 in Toronto which will be the host city. About sixty people from all over North America attended, indicating to the local planning group that there is "interest and support both locally and from across the continent."

The anarchist "unconvention" will be held July 1-4th, and much like the preceding events in Chicago and Minneapolis will feature "structured workshops and forums as well as opportunities for spontaneous events and happenings." Meetings will be by affinity groups (special interests, gender, age, etc.), specific topics (racism, homophobia, technology, national liberation movements) and skills (squatting, direct action, print media, etc.).

Also proposed are a cultural evening, a poster show and a day of music and celebration in the park. Posters for display are requested and proposals for performance pieces and theater are welcome.

Although six months off, the local planners want to begin getting an idea of how many people to expect. Please contact the address below for a copy of a fuller report of the Sept. 12 meeting, directions to the meeting points, and to coordinate transportation. A fuller discussion of the problems involved in crossing the border will be forthcoming in the next report from Toronto and in this paper.

We suspect purple hair, anarchist "A's," radical literature or a surly attitude towards the surly border guards will probably make entry into Canada difficult.

Posters (\$3) and T-shirts (\$10) [design unknown] are available. Contact: "A" Survival Gathering, The 1988 Anarchist Convention, Box 435 Stn. P, Toronto, Ont., M5S 2S9 Canada. Oh, yeah, send them money! These affairs cost lots of money to put on. People here in Detroit have raised \$150 at a recent dinner (see Detroit Seen) for the gathering and we urge others to do the same.

On August 15, Adler, one of the German's largest clothing firms, had eight of

its branches firebombed, almost simultaneously, in eight different towns. Claiming responsibility was Red Zora, a loose association of feminists, stating that the attacks were in response to the exploitation and use of "Third World" women as cheap labor in Adler factories. Adler employs over 3,000 people in South Korea and Sri Lanka. No one was hurt in the bombings and the total damage done was over \$22 million.

—from Counter Information, c/o 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh, Scotland

A boycott of Burger King begun in 1984 has succeeded in getting the company to phase out use of beef raised in the Central American rainforests. Sales of Burger King shit burgers dropped by 12% as a result of the campaign. About one half of the rainforests in Central America have been cut down to create pasture for beef cattle. Now, McDonald's is the target of another campaign to stop them using plastic foam packaging for their \$4.1 billion-worth of burger sales per year. The foam packages are a huge problem—their million packages a day could take 50,000 cubic feet of space to dispose of; they can't be burned because of the release of toxic gases; and the styrofoam packages are "ozone killers" since the fluorocarbons they release destroy the ozone layer. However, even if these mock food joints "reformed" their worst abuses, they still should be avoided.

—information from The New Catalyst, Box 99, Lillooet, BC V0K 1V0 Canada

The Anarchist Black Cross, an international group which aids political victims, has recently begun activity in Vancouver: c/o Tragic Bandit Publishers, Box 2881, Vancouver, B. C., Canada V6B 3X4.

The origins of its tradition stem from the Anarchist Red Cross in Tsarist Russia which aided political prisoners and deportees and organized self-defense against anti-semitic pogrom raids by the Cossacks. It was sustained economically by Russian Anarchists in America, particularly in Chicago. During the Russian civil war, 1918-1921, when the Red Cross was active in organizing relief, it was thought better to change the name to the Anar-

chist Black Cross to avoid confusion.

After the Bolsheviks seized power, the organization moved to Berlin, still with its main aid Chicago-based, and continued to help Russian prisoners (now of the Soviet Union) with the added task of helping victims of Italian Fascism and prisoners of post-war German reaction.

When Germany succumbed to fascism and the depression hit America, the decline in the amount of financial aid and the huge wave of people needing that support broke the back of the organization. Nevertheless, Chicago remained a source of its strength for years up to recent times. The recent revival of the Anarchist Black Cross took place as a result of the work of such people as Stuart Christie, Albert Meltzer and Miguel Garcia in England.

Present activities of the Vancouver ABC include the case of Katsuhisa Omori—sentenced to death in Japan for a bombing he never committed, Greek hunger-striker Victor Armanious, and the Vancouver 5(4)—5 anarchists who were arrested and charged with a series of bombings of a missile plant, porn shops and an ecologically harmful power plant. Gerry Hannah, one of the V5(4) recently received day parole and is now residing in Vancouver. He will be reviewed for full parole in six months. Doug Stewart, another of the 5(4) was transferred to Ferndale Minimum Security camp, which is a vast improvement over Matsqui, his former place of imprisonment. Brent Taylor is in Colins Bay which is a max/med prison, and Anne Hansen is still at Kingston Maximum Prison for women. For their mailing addresses you can write to Anarchist Black Cross, and at the same time, ask to receive their newsletter.

All the prisoners are appreciative of any mail they receive and funds are always needed for further support work.

and Kayan tribes, as well as other environmentalists who have protested nuclear dumping and clearcutting of the rainforests. Two of the arrested Malaysians were later released while a third member of the group Friends of the Earth received a two year sentence under the Internal Security Act. All the Penan tribe members were released on bond, with a pending court date of October 31, 1988.

The Penans have lived for centuries in environmental harmony with the rainforest in Borneo, located in a province of Malaysia, with all their food, shelter, clothing and medicine coming from renewable rainforest materials. In the past few years the Malaysian government has looked the other way while timber companies have illegally clearcut the Penan rainforest, the oldest rainforest in the world.

Environmentalists in Malaysia charge many politicians in power hold shares in these illegal logging companies. The logging has caused floods, erosion and contamination of the water supply. The fish, game and plants that Penan tribes need to survive are dying. In a desperate move to save their home and way of life, the Penan tribes began to blockade the logging roads. Unarmed, except for feather-tipped spears, the Penan put their lives on the line against giant trucks illegally carrying tropical timber bound for Europe and America.

The Rainforest Action Network asks that letters of protest be sent to: Prime Minister Mahatir Mohamad, Government of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Funds to assist the arrested may be sent to: The Rainforest Action Network, 300 Broadway, San Francisco CA 94133.

Barely noticed in January was the signing of a bilateral extradition accord



German anti-nuclear protesters moon French police across the border during a 1981 demonstration. Photo/C. Tookus

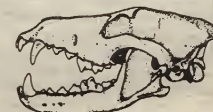
News has reached us of a crackdown by the Malaysian government of Prime Minister Mahatir Mohamad in late Oct., 1987 against the regime's opponents. Arrests included members of the Penan

between the U.S. and Canada which would eliminate the legal basis for sanctuary which permitted thousands of American men fleeing the military draft during the Vietnam war to escape north of the border. At that time, Canada would not extradite persons accused of a crime in one country which was not illegal in theirs (it has no draft law). This has been wiped out with the stroke of a pen. Perhaps Mexico will be the haven of choice for draft resisters if the U.S. is ever foolish enough to re-institute its hated conscription to support imperial adventures abroad.



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fifth estate



Justice-AmeriKKkan style: Ex-boxer Rubin (Hurricane) Carter may finally be free after serving a 19-year prison term for murders he never committed. The U.S. Supreme Court refused in January to reinstate the conviction of the former boxing champion and a companion after it had been reversed by a New Jersey court. Imprisoned since 1966, Rubin was released in 1985 from a racist frame-up which was popularized in the song, "Hurricane" by Bob Dylan on his Desire album (worth listening to again). American justice is a joke once it leaves the tender confines of the upper classes it was designed to protect, and the lower it goes on the social scale the more people are chewed up by it. Travesties such as the continued imprisonment in California of ex-Black Panther, Geronimo Pratt, a victim of an FBI frame-up, makes "respect for the law" a bad joke.

The number of arrests for anti-nuclear civil disobedience in the United States and Canada increased in 1987 by nearly 60% over recent years, to a total of over 5,300. Statistics compiled annually by *The Nuclear Resister* newsletter show that the current figure equals the record number of arrests reported in 1983, the year of the Euromissile deployment and massive demonstrations in the United States and Europe.

(*The Nuclear Resister* is published 8 times yearly; subscriptions are \$15/10 issues from Box 43383, Tucson, AZ 85733.)

"These numbers give notice that a substantial, growing part of the peace movement is committed to risking arrest through nonviolent direct action as a means to achieve nuclear disarmament," observed Felice Cohen-Joppa, co-editor of *The Nuclear Resister*.

Most of the arrests were weapons related and occurred at military facilities (nearly half were at the Nevada nuclear test site), war contractors and federal offices. About 400 of the total were of people protesting nuclear power, uranium mining and related projects.

As a consequence of these arrests, over 120 people served or are serving prison terms of from two weeks to 17 years! Those incarcerated represented only 2% of the total arrested.

Action groups all across the continent, some in loose alliance with others, but for the most part acting independently, engaged in over 180 separate actions in 1987 at more than 70 different sites. (Of total arrests, 95 were reported from Canada, during nine actions at three sites).

Continued on Page 31



Tearing up the tracks after protester Brian Willson was purposely run over by a military train.

"Workin' on the Railroad" GIVE CHANCE A PIECE

SAN FRANCISCO—On September 5, 1987, an event occurred which may signal a breakthrough for the North American anti-war movement. Forty yards of railroad track and ties serving the Concord Naval Weapons Station (CNWS) in Port Chicago, were torn up by hundreds of protesters during and after a rally at Clyde Park, adjacent to the CNWS.

The rally had been called in response to the callous maiming of ex-Air Force captain and anti-war pacifist Brian Willson, who was run over the previous Tuesday by a munitions train as he sat on the tracks to protest the shipment of munitions to war zones in Central America.

Let's Talk About Your Bombs

The CNWS is the only West Coast munitions trans-shipment point. Kathy Bodovitz, reporting in the *S.F. Chronicle*, writes that as of now in "peacetime," roughly 100,000 tons of munitions arrive by train and truck and leave by ship each year. During the worst of the U.S. war against Viet Nam, 100,000 tons of munitions would leave the facility per month!

Missiles and bombs of all kinds pass through here (and are selectively tested) before being sent on for use in war situations. Today, about 80% of the munitions arrive by truck, the rest by train. There are about 100 miles of track within the boundaries of the CNWS, with a brief 200 yards of it passing over county-controlled property and the Port Chicago Highway. That short stretch of track was plenty, as it turned out.

Another Liberal Rally?

I had come with a few friends, fully expecting to be bored to tears and depressed at the sights and sounds of crowds excited by the speechifying of the likes of Daniel Ellsberg, Jesse Jackson and Joan Baez. Nevertheless we decided we could go, meet with friends, express some sympathy for Willson and some more disgust with the military, and find

out what's what. There were rumors...

The fact was that a number of people—anarchists, workers, veterans, homeless people, commies, students and community activists (or any combination thereof)—had come prepared with tools and/or the willingness to attempt to dismantle the tracks on county property. At about 1:30 pm, a meeting was con-

Train Crew Sues Victim

In a legal move perhaps unprecedented for its callousness, the civilian train crew who ran over Vietnam vet Brian Willson on Sept. 1 have sued their victim for damages due to the mental anguish they incurred. Besides his legs being severed below the knee, Willson also incurred a fractured skull and extensive abrasions when he failed to escape the train exiting the Concord Naval Weapons Station at an excessive rate of speed.

Willson, in turn, has filed a civil rights suit against the Navy and the train crew after receiving evidence from a county sheriff's office which stated the base commander knew that the demonstrators would be on the tracks and ordered the train crew not to stop for them.

The Navy claims the train was moving at the legal speed of five miles per hour, but Willson and other observers state that it actually sped up to triple that as it approached those on the tracks. Also, the train crew could clearly see where the demonstrators were situated since they had a large banner stretched across the tracks and were visible for at least 500 feet.

Willson's suit charges that the train was purposely driven at the demonstrators to discourage protests at the base which is a major disembarkment point for weapons bound for U.S. client states in Central America.

vened outside the rally site to discuss and co-ordinate the direct anti-war action.

The liberal-pacifist organizers of the rally, Nuremburg Actions, were informed of the preparations and immediately sent a few leaders over to insist that our "violent" action not take place. One of the rally organizers wishing to see the action blocked was Holly Rauen, who had just gone through the trauma of seeing her husband, Brian Willson, run down and nearly killed. We would be "disrespecting" Willson and displaying callous disregard for his victimization and loss of his legs if we tore up tracks upon which he had been injured, she said. Fortunately, his suffering on the tracks did matter and was one intense reason why many people decided to tear up the tracks—whether he agreed or not.

For the ideologues of "non-violence," the property of the war economy is apparently only to be destroyed by using it against the government's targeted victims. The "non-violent revolutionaries" argued that the destruction of property was "violent" and therefore counter to pacifist principles proscribing all forms of violence. Responses addressed the fact that far from being violent, destruction of this property is a real defense of life—is actually *anti-violence*, in stopping violence against others.

The pacifists then announced that since they had called the rally, and did not want the action to take place, it should not take place. People replied that demos are not commodities owned by any group. We were also told that we would "provoke" police attacks on "defenseless children," even though the action was physically quite separate from the rally and people had been informed and could avoid involvement. It always seems strange that the pacifists make the argument that we somehow provoke the *real* violence-prone cops and bosses to commit violence against us. *Why aren't the pacifists ever arguing with the police against their own real use of violence?*

Surprise, Surprise, Surprise!

As Jesse Jackson was halfway through his speech, a group of ten people, shielded by a few dozen more, constructed a plywood death-train on a section of rails near where Willson had been hit. Soon, following Jackson's speech—which people seem naturally to assume is the end of a rally—hundreds of people came to discover the goings-on and spontaneously joined in on this pragmatic anti-war action.

During the next three hours, over a thousand folks of all ages, shapes, colors and sizes cheered in support, brought food and drink, sang songs and played music ("I've been Workin' On the Railroad," for one) and/or uprooted railspikes, unbolted tracks and plates, removed the rails, dug out and removed the wooden railroad ties. One friend noted that with every announcement by the rally organizers that they had nothing to do with the tearing-up of the tracks, more people came to check it out and participate. This included some calling themselves pacifists.

By 5:30pm, perhaps two dozen sections of track, 40 or so railroad ties and dozens and dozens of bolts and plates had been stacked or scattered around the demolition site. A 40-yard section of the railroad which carries munitions was dismantled and made impassable.

Continued on next page

Piece—Continued from previous page

The whole scene seemed almost impossible, but many factors were involved, not the least of which was the determined and catalysing presence of the small number of people who had prepared for this action beforehand. This fact is, of course, the basis for the claim by Nuremburg Actions, cops and most of the media that the rail-action was "the work of a radical fringe." Clearly, it was not.

What was the work of that "radical fringe" was the willingness to act and to do so in ways and with means and for goals which are empowering, practical and anti-authoritarian.

Nobody really had to ask, and certainly not cajole, others to participate. People would ask, "What are you doing?" and hear an answer like, "The tracks are used by trains that carry munitions to be used by servants under the command of dictators against exploited people; the trains have not been stopped by prayer, silent vigils, symbolic opposition or even physical self-sacrifice." Then they might exclaim, "Oh yeah! Let's remove the tracks!"

Stop That Train

Throughout the afternoon there was the nagging fear of attack by the surrounding "peace officers." Their occasional troop movements sent many of us scattering, only to regroup. Perhaps the most ridiculous part of the day was efforts by several pacifists to play morality cops by sitting on top of rails being removed, so as to "stop the violence."

Otherwise, the afternoon sailed by as a sometimes uproarious celebration. The free cooperation, the sharing of expertise, elbow-grease and extra effort was infused with a positively libertine and libertarian good spirit. In a pleasant, if very brief way, we made anarchy in action, the very opposite of chaos: no promulgation of compulsions, no pay, no bosses, no slaves, because it was really something we wanted to do and that needed to be done.

Some people probably never felt so good and excited about getting sweaty and dirty for free.

On the other hand, we were lucky. The decision of the cops and marines not to move in and disperse the action appears to have had two main reasons.

First was their undoubted surprise at the action itself and the quick, willing and happy participation by hundreds of people. They could have broken it up, regardless, but they did not seem to have the

Continued on Page 29

European coot
(18 in. long)

DETROIT SEEN

Crow (18 to 20 in.
long)

Greetings to all and as usual, a special thanks to those who have added a contribution to their subscription renewal or back order. Also, to that small group who have elected to become Fifth Estate Sustainers—those who donate a fixed sum each issue. One of the reasons why Sustainers are limited is that we rarely promote the category or indicate how important it is to us. Sustainers are sent the issue first class, receive publications from time to time and free admission to local FE events. This issue we sent Sustainers a tabloid we produced in conjunction with the Evergreen Alliance as part of the opposition to the Detroit Incinerator, and the next issue will be accompanied (hopefully) by the soon-to-be published last book by Fredy Perlman, *The Strait*. So, if we have enticed you, please drop us a line and let us know how much you can pledge each issue.

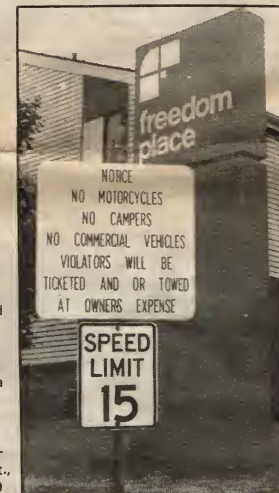
By the way, the incinerator tabloid mentioned above is what we were referring to in our Summer 1987 edition when we spoke of our involvement in other projects which kept us away from publishing the FE. The incinerator tabloid is available from us for 39 cents postage.

A long delayed fund-raising dinner was held here in November to provide money for anti-authoritarian publications and political victims of the state. Actually, it turned out to be an anarcho-brunch with great food and a collection which netted \$425 from the 25 friends attending. The funds were divided between the following projects, all of which we urge you to contact and support. The fact that any number of fine publications and projects did not receive a donation should not be interpreted as a lack of support. The 1988 Toronto Anarchist Gathering, Box 435, Stn. P, Toronto, Ont. M5S 2S9, \$150; Alien-Nation, Box 10122, Olympia WA 98502, \$50; Lomakatsi, Box 633, 1377 K St. NW, Washington DC 20005, \$50; *Anarchy: a journal of desire armed*, Box 380 Columbia MO 65205, \$50; *Reality Now*, Box 6326, Stn. A, Toronto, Ont., M5W 1P7, \$20; Mayday Newsletter, 1459 W. Foster, Chicago IL 60640, \$20; *Kick It Over*, Box 5811, Stn. A, Toronto, Ont., M5W 1P2, \$35; *Dialogue*, 916 Euterpe St., New Orleans LA 70130, \$30; *Counter Information*, 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh, Scotland, UK, \$20; The Wimmings Prisoner Survival Network, PO Box 6326 Station A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5W 1P7, \$10.00.

We've decided to revive what we called in the 1960's, the Fifth Estate Speakers Bureau, which sent staff members and others connected with what we called the revolutionary movement out to colleges, high schools, churches and union locals around the country. Why the term "bureau" was selected is down the memory hole, but perhaps it was chosen due to our softer position on bureaucracies and bureaucrats at the time. In any event, the speakers were generally well received and often had the effect of en-

couraging rebellion in the particular venue where we were invited, often to the consternation of the host. Back then it seemed the only topics we spoke about were the war in Vietnam, the Black Panther Party and the White Panther Party—both of which we shared platforms and common politics with. Today, we can offer a much larger range of subjects such as technology and society, the impact of the media, anarchism, ecology, the Detroit incinerator, the 1960's and contemporary social movements, Central America and U.S. empire, the decision to bomb Hiroshima, the primitive vision, and more. We are willing to speak just about anywhere that seems reasonable in terms of time, place and distance (the latter could even be overcome if arrangements are made).

So let us know if you think we could enliven your class, debate or meeting; you can reach us through our box number or call (313) 831-6800.



freedom place/Detroit —photo/Juan N. Only

While some liberals still insist that the media has a "duty" to inform the populace, the corporate owners see their only obligations as realizing a profit for their investors while functioning as the ideological apparatus which affirms and protects the power relationships of the empire. It then certainly bespeaks a certain naivete if anyone remains shocked that the newspapers and television play fast and loose with the truth, particularly as it relates to opposition to official policy.

Even all said, it still is startling to see the length to which the media will go to misrepresent and diminish even the weakest protests. It is as if they sense the flimsy house of cards this system is built upon and that even tepid objection has the potential of pulling down the whole shabang.

A case in point is the coverage by the

Detroit *Free Press* (sic) and *News* of an October 4 christian/leftist/liberal anti-intervention/anti-apartheid demonstration held at Detroit's Federal Building. Although the former paper is a "liberal" daily and the other overtly rightist, both underestimated (in standard fashion) the number attending by one-half to two-thirds (our count was about 1,500). However, the real hatchet job came with the photographs each ran beside their stories. The *News* (or the Noose as it used to be called) featured a shot of the crowd with a banner from the Communist Party prominently displayed, while the *Free Press* ran a similar one with a banner from the Marxist-Leninist Party-USA dominating the photo.

The liberals howled in protest to the publisher of the *Free Press* who answered in print that there had been no intent to red-bait the politically moderate crowd and the photo had been chosen randomly under the rush of their deadline. Operating a newspaper ourselves, this explanation rang hollow knowing that all items in a paper are chosen with at least some forethought. Particularly with a politically charged issue, someone realized exactly what the photos would convey.

But why bother with these slugs? Their task is to lie about the world and they're doing a fine job. Isn't it time for the shock to subside and to start generating our own publications?

A special note of gratitude needs to be expressed to the anonymous donor who sent a \$500 gift to the Fifth Estate so we could "upgrade typesetting equipment." It must be someone who knows of our plight in the matter, faced as we are with having our current aging machine declared officially and irrevocably OBSOLETE by IBM. This essentially means that we will no longer be able to have repairs done on it and that the next time it breaks down, the curtain will lower on that era of typesetting for us. This means that we will no longer be able to produce our type here, and that we are now faced with the prospect of entering the computer age, something we all loathe the thought of.

Our opposition is more than just to the specific technology of computers, but also to the manner in which they have rearranged the world in their own image. So strong is the opposition to us acquiring one among certain members of our staff, that a few have said they will refuse to work in the office if one is purchased. In fact, none of us want one, but what is our alternative? We have investigated the possibility of a modern typewriter, but found they possess the same technology (on a rudimentary basis) as the larger computers without giving the quality or diversity of functions they would provide.

So, we have done nothing. The gracious gift remains in the bank while we try to decide whether to surrender to the dictates of technology, which never suggests, only demands. Any ideas?

Delving Deeper into Deep Ecology

INTRODUCTION

The letter exchanges and articles on the next few pages represent the second installment of what we see as an ongoing process of investigation and discussion of the ecology perspective and movement, nature and society. The response to our special Fall 1987 issue on deep ecology has been overwhelming and gratifying—one of the greatest responses to any single issue since we published a special women's issue sixteen years ago.

There are probably a number of reasons for this, first and foremost the growing recognition universally of ecological crisis. It is also becoming more and more clear that the crisis is rooted in the content of repressive civilization itself; confidence in megatechnic capitalism's Dream of Progress is rapidly eroding, and people are seeking ways to renew human communities and community with the natural world.

This explains the appeal of a deep ecology action-oriented group like Earth First! which eschews compromise in defense of Mother Earth. It also explains the interest in our special issue, which explores some of the ways in which deep ecology is itself compromised by its uncritical acceptance of ideological elements of current anglo-american civilization (patriotism, cultural chauvinism, a

sagebrush rebel posture, a refusal to oppose capitalism, and Malthusianism, to name a few).

Most of the response has been in the form of short notes of support and requests for multiple copies with other letters describing personal experiences or views on the matter and reflecting a disquiet about the organizational style and political positions of EF!'s charismatic, macho leaders.

We are only able to print a few letters in this issue, because of the unavoidably long exchange and other material that we felt needed to be printed. More letters, including one from the notorious EF! writer Miss Ann Thropy himself, will appear in the next FE, along with an essay being prepared by George Bradford which we decided to hold back to avoid overkill, "Further Remarks on Deep Ecology." We continue to welcome responses and discussion, though we reserve the right to respond at length ourselves, since many letters raise important issues that need to be directly addressed.

One disappointment has been the refusal of the EF! spokesmen (so far) to respond directly to our essay, other than mentioning it and giving our address in their paper. We did receive a 23-page-long manuscript from deep ecology professor Bill Devall which did not even mention our essay except to tack

on its title to his bibliography.

Devall's essay will have to be discussed at another time if at all, but it reflects the other major disappointment we experienced, which was the implicit lumping of our critique of deep ecology in with a full-scale "attack" by a horde of "anarchist-leftist-marxists, led by Murray Bookchin." Thus, in a single motion, Devall writes off social critique and all forms of opposition to capital while willfully ignoring the substantial, long-term differences between the FE and Bookchin's social ecology perspective. In fact, these differences are the very areas of discussion that for the last decade have given the FE its individual character: our critique of technology and technological civilization; our reappraisal of primitive society and its relevance, both as a model for anarchy and as an alternative, visionary epistemology for people today; our critique of scientism, positivism and rationalism; and our affirmation of a sacred or spiritual dimension in nature. Our differences with Bookchin are substantial, but we favor open dialogue with social ecologists as we have desired it with deep ecologists, so we will explore these areas in the future carefully and (hopefully) fairly.

The FE Staff

Ideology as Material Force: Earth First! and the Problem of Language

"When you're taking on a bulldozer, you don't worry about the flies buzzing around your head."

—Dave Foreman, editor, *Earth First!*,
Yule 1987 edition

Words have consequences and, knowing their power, Dave Foreman uses them skillfully and manipulatively.

The *Fifth Estate* is one of the flies, along with Murray Bookchin and the social ecologists, Ynestra King and the eco-feminists, Alien-Nation—anyone who has criticized the deep ecology philosophy and its most militant exponent, the Earth First! (EF!) group. They're "warriors" on a sacred mission to defend the Wilderness, with barely time to "squabble" with "anarchist-leftist-marxists," who are "academics," "anthropocentric" and "wimps" given to "whining."

They do everything for the planet; we do nothing except get in their way. Or, so go the responses in the last two 1987 *Earth First!* editions to the spate of criticisms it and its pugnacious editor have received for their opposition to Central American refugee sanctuary, their neo-Malthusian population theories (including a celebration of the spread of AIDS as a population control) and for their failure to understand the social basis of the ecological crisis.

The temptation is (and it is very tempting) to let Earth First! go its own way. Why bother with their

off-the-wall social theory, some have asked? Why not recognize that its leadership and perhaps some or many of their followers are self-defined misanthropes and let their actions speak louder than what we may see as silly and sometimes stupid words?

The answer lies in the recognition that words and ideas have power as the ultimate shapers of actions. Foreman likes to contend that EF! has gone "beyond the worn-out dogmas of the left, right, and middle of the road," but if his words hold sway (and they always seem to), EF! is developing not only an ecological agenda, but also a right-wing social and political ideology with a style to match.

If such a contention sounds alarmist or like a product of sectarian rivalry (as EF! contends), it is instructive to compare them with the strange odyssey of Lyndon Larouche's U.S. Labor Party. Beginning as a labor-oriented sector of the left-wing Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in the late 1960s, Larouche and company soon metamorphosed into its current paranoid, right-wing cult form. It originally manifested opposition to capitalism and a combative style, but the preponderance of a charismatic leader and lack of internal democracy set the stage for its organizational transformation from left to right. Could EF! make a similar shift? Mostly it depends on whether the politics of the Tucson inner core (Foreman, et al) hold sway or if the widespread support EF! commands can alter its increasingly right-wing slant.

Part of the problem emanates from what can be

described as an organizational style. In general, there is a self-congratulatory tone to the *Earth First!* newspaper coming from Foreman and other writers that produces a boundless arrogance in their frequent self-descriptions and defenses of their basic tenets. They are continually patting themselves on the back for their commitment, how "rowdy" and "redneck" they are, what a sense of humor they have, and how it is deep ecology alone, as defined by them, which can stop industrialism's assault on the planet.

While perhaps easily dismissable as organizational exuberance or the arrogance of a dynamic group, much of their macho posturing is exactly what eco-feminists have been concerned about for at least a decade and a half. Foreman and other deep ecologists claim to be expressing a "new paradigm"—one which has gone beyond the Western ideology of conquest, dominance and production—but they appear never to be willing for a moment to relinquish their male centrality.

Eco-feminist Ynestra King, in a December 12, 1987 letter to *The Nation* (available from the FE for postage), describes Earth First! as "...a bunch of guys who have set themselves up as the self-appointed protectors of another virgin—the virgin wilderness. While romancing the wild (they're fond of

In our last issue we listed incorrectly the address of Alien-Nation, a dissident group of Earth First!ers who had published a pamphlet on the group (partially reprinted in the FE). Our apologies for this error. Their actual address is: Alien-Nation, P.O. Box 10122, Olympia, WA 98502.

backpacking in to where no man has gone before), they claim it as their own...Foreman and his macho crowd represent nothing more than the Daniel Boone mentality in ecological drag." Janet Biehl, a social ecologist states in the Winter 1987 *Kick It Over* (Box 5811, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M52 1P2, Canada), "Deep ecologists, by single-mindedly defining the human problem as anthropocentrism—the centrality of all humans and their 'domination' of nature—ignore millennia of patricentric history..."

As early as 1974, Francoise d'Eaubonne stated in her book, *Le Feminisme ou la mort*, that no male led revolution—one that had not resolved the question of patriarchal domination—could counteract the horrors of the planet's destruction. She coined the term "eco-feminist" when Foreman was still a lobbyist wearing three-piece suits and a necktie while clinking glasses with Congressmen in Washington. Mary Daly, in her angry 1978 book, *Gyn/Ecology*, succinctly states the function of male style and language in her support for d'Eaubonne's contention: "Phallic myth and language generate, legitimate, and mask the material pollution that threatens to terminate all sentient life on this planet."

These eco-feminist criticisms begin to tie together when Foreman and other EFlers define their role in the world. "My job is to be a warrior," Foreman told *The Animals' Agenda* (Box 6809, Syracuse, NY 13217) in their December 1987 issue (and also, that he is a hunter and a meat eater). The warrior appellation is problematic, to say the least, given its historic role in the origins of warfare and the nation state, but its attributes of male rage and violence are exactly what eco-feminists and others point to as the attitudes and styles which undercut the ability to get to the root of what has made the destruction of the earth permissible.

The last person I heard describe himself as a warrior was a member of an outlaw motorcycle gang who was screaming it at a woman sitting by a peace literature table right before he slugged her. I don't want to accuse Foreman of woman beating among everything else, but that occurrence was vividly brought to mind by a different literature table incident, this time recounted in *Earth First!*

The 1987 Yule edition of the paper carried an abusive, hysterical letter from Paul Watson, the famed defender of the whales, who was enraged that anyone ("wimps," he called them) had dared to criticize EFl, deep ecology, or Dave Foreman, particularly the Alien-Nation people whose charges



José Guadalupe Posada

is "anthropocentric" (bad) and what is "biocentric" (good).

Ultimately, it boils down not to "fuck the human race," but fuck the *other*—the other with less status and power. Foreman's tender concern for the environment becomes a well-crafted Ayn Rand-like rationale for the selfishness of those who possess privilege. Foreman's callous disregard for human hunger quoted in the last *FE* ("let the people there [Ethiopia] starve there") really rates his group the name, "Us First!" or, in the case of their celebration of the spread of AIDS to limit population, "You First!" As George Bradford pointed out in his essay last issue, one can only speculate what Foreman's position would be towards the growing millions facing homelessness and starvation in this country; perhaps their fate should be that of the Ethiopians.

Howard Wolke, one of the EFl founders, writes in the Yule 1987 *EFl* that their movement is made up of many diverse elements—"...leftists, rightists, anarchists..." and that the only thing they agree on is defense of the Wilderness. This sounds good, but it doesn't appear to be the way Foreman sees it. In the Litha 1987 *EFl* he lays out a number of "things that define us as Earth First!" After running through a laundry list of concepts, he says if you don't agree you "are probably in the wrong bunch and ought to join some other outfit." Note his frequently-used dude ranch, pseudo-cowboy lingo designed to give himself that "authentic" quality. (Foreman lives in an urban, middle-class Tucson neighborhood according to his articles, which is fine, but why not cut out the Riders of the Purple Sage crap?). In any event, so much for diversity—toe the party line or get out.

A lot of the party line even sounds good on paper with its strident denunciations of industrialism and civilization, but once his radical pronouncements leave the sagebrush and intersect with the world, a different picture emerges. Foreman has been called to task on the question of sanctuary for Central American refugees from the U.S.-sponsored violence in the region. Mike Roselle, another EFl founder, assured us personally and publicly in Ann Arbor last Fall that Foreman supported sanctuary, but the *EFl* editor came out four-square against it in an article entitled, "Is Sanctuary the Answer?" (Samhain 1987). Well, it isn't for this white, well-fed son of the middle-class.

He states quite clearly, "Halt—as humanely as possible—the continued immigration into the United States. The would-be immigrant will go back to an unfortunate and, in some cases, bloody fate..." Here it all is, the *campesino* gets the death squads, while Foreman goes rafting (his favorite hobby). This one statement is so rife with selfish contempt for the suffering of others, and so blind to the fact that the



José Guadalupe Posada

privilege we enjoy here is a direct result of the misery others suffer, that it is almost staggering in its revelation about the cold ethical center of the man ("Me First!" in this regard).



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In one paragraph, he affirms not only his willingness to enjoy luxury while others are tortured and executed, but also the sanctity of nation-state borders and the cops who defend them (the hated *migra*, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service [INS] which agrees completely with Foreman's view and states unabashedly, despite evidence to the contrary of its brutal and illegal tactics, that it is halting immigration "as humanely as possible").

Earth First! constantly, and quite accurately, berates the U.S. Forest Service ("Freddie Gestapo" read a recent *EF!* headline) for their complicity in permitting logging and other rapes of the Wilderness, but the *border guard* Freddie has Foreman's stamp of approval for securing "his" country (the one stolen from Mexico, he forgets) against the brown hordes who will further overload "the resources we have in the USA."

Foreman even attempts to let the U.S. off the hook for the wars and oppression wracking Central America by saying that one cannot ignore the role of the "caballero juntas" (a little gringo-fractured Spanish thrown in for flavor) in maintaining the conditions of misery in that benighted region. Does he really believe that the stooges running countries like El Salvador and Guatemala would last out the month if it wasn't for their U.S. client-state status? Is he really that ignorant of the constant intervention over the last 150 years in Central America any time a government or movement tries to alter the calculus of imperial looting? If he is aware of what is happening there, why doesn't he do more than shed crocodile

tears? the people he wants to send back to the tender mercy of the Salvadoran Treasury Police, and link his wing of the ecology movement with those who are trying to depose the juntas?

Also, consider Edward Abbey, author of pro-Wilderness books and *EF!* icon (boy, do they get mad when you criticize him). When Abbey talks about immigration, he sounds like a small-town Rotarian stumping for office on the Republican ticket. In the *FE* deep ecology issue, George Bradford cited the views of Abbey on Mexico and its relationship to the U.S. as enough to "reveal his utter racism and historical stupidity." I thought perhaps this was a bit harsh, but given a letter by Abbey in the Yule 1987 *EF!*, Bradford may have been too kind.

Abbey denies that his statements warning the U.S. not to "allow our country to become Latinized" is evidence of racism on his part.* Instead, he says, "I am guilty of cultural chauvinism—I prefer life in the USA to that in any Latin American country; and so do most Latin Americans." Another *EF!* yankee doodle dandy who on one hand crows that he is an "anarchist" (see *Utne Reader*, Nov.-Dec. 1987) and on



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the other wants to erect rigid, national boundaries defended by government men with guns. Either phrase—racist or cultural chauvinist—fits Abbey's imperial view, both of which are equally despicable.

However, the man is a fool to think that any but a handful of Latinos would venture across this border to a land of factories, office buildings and shopping malls had they not been driven there by war and U.S.-induced poverty. Reading any of Abbey's books (many of which contain vividly compelling descriptions of the desert) you realize what a misanthrope he is, fitting perfectly comedian Richard Pryor's classic line about white people who are upset about population growth because "there are too many people on earth and I have no room to ride my horse."

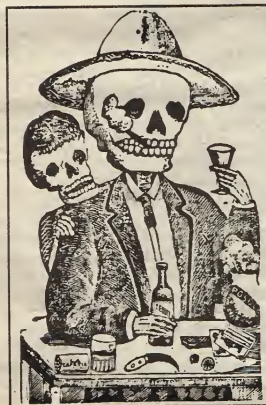
Earth First!'s self-described radical environmentalism has attracted a great deal of support, and

their willingness to militantly defend Wilderness through direct action and sabotage is admirable and sometimes effective. Their departure from the inadequate strategies and perspectives of mainstream environmental groups, who depend solely on the hopeless tactics of legislation and lobbying, is an encouraging step. The *Earth First!* paper comes virtually bulging at the seams each issue with accounts of their exploits while defending the wolf and grizzly, scaling a dam to paint a crack on it, or climbing old growth trees to stop their being logged.

Nevertheless, *Earth First!* may be at a crossroads, although Foreman and the others would probably never admit it. To him, his critics are only a nuisance providing an opportunity to re-state his ideology while humbly employing the demagogue's technique of offering to resign. An article authored by Foreman in the Samhain 1987 *EF!* may have posed the most important question in its title, "Whither *Earth First!*?" Foreman and his "bunch" will only lead it down an increasingly slippery path to the right, insuring isolation from potential allies (such as the large sanctuary movement in the Southwest). The ultimate direction of the movement will depend greatly upon the rank and file of *Earth First!* and whether they are willing to let their aspirations be defined by a right-wing *caudillo*. If so, this would be a sad ending to what has the potential to be a vibrant part of the widening revolutionary ecological and social movement in this country.

E.B. Maple

*Actually, what appeared in *EF!* is a somewhat sanitized version of what he had written to *The Bloomsbury Review*. His letter there read (as we reprinted last issue), "If we allow our country—our country—to become Latinized..." (original emphasis). It's as if he realized that the second "our country" made him sound just a bit too rabid. "Our country," according to Abbey, "however imperfectly realized, is a product of northern European civilization." (Some would call it "Aryan.") Its "Latinization," he writes from former Mexican territory, incredibly, would mean "a more rigid class system, a patron style of politics, less democracy and more oligarchy, a fear and hatred of the natural world, a densely overpopulated land base, a less efficient and far more corrupt economy, and a greater reliance on crime and violence as normal instruments of social change." Remember, dear reader, that Abbey is describing what the U.S. allegedly will look like with the dreaded Latinization, not its present character. When questioned about Abbey's letter (as well as Foreman's comments) in Ann Arbor last summer, *EF!* leader Mike Roselle alluded to a sinister campaign against *EF!* and responded that Abbey's letter had been "tongue-in-cheek." Perhaps this is the kind of humor that *EF!* spokesmen and followers complain that nobody else appreciates.



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Foreman's Favorite "Freddies"

Letters On Deep Ecology

Dear Fifth Estate:

I was heartened to read your issue concerning Earth First!. I've had a gut feeling about that group for a while, felt uncomfortable with the male-dominated norm of most all environmental groups, even the so-called radical, anarchist ones. Then I heard about the AIDS comment by Foreman and got upset even further. But I thought, maybe that's west coast innocence; I just came from New York City where AIDS is the #1 killer of women between the ages of 25 and 29. Still, it bugged me, and I began debating with people about Earth First!, about the nature of an anarchist ecology group which refuses to recognize human social relationships and problems as the cause of environmental disaster... To make a long story short, thank you. I thought I was alone in an uncomfortable feeling about Earth First!. Now I'm not alone.

Laurel Owen
Eugene, OR



Howdy y'all,

Here's my two bits on the Deep Ecology critique. There are of course many problems with Deep Ecology (and let's not forget its parochial manifestation: bioregionalism), including its adherence to a misanthropy that reeks of a separateness (of humans) from the natural world. Despite their critique of "humanism," those who adhere to Deep Ecology take an ambiguous stance toward the role of humans in Nature. For all their supposed wishes to become re-integrated parts of the environment, they seem to think that it's impossible or undesirable or both. On the one hand, they think that the world would be a wonderful place if there were no humans around to fuck things up (which is probably true), but at the same time they recommend a change in the stance of political representatives towards governing natural "resources" (sic).

The EFi critique of "humanism" includes a critique of leftism and anarchism (although from reading the last issue of *Efi*, these critiques are rather shallow), and by inference, all ideologies. But as Bradford correctly points out, this position has its own ideological basis; my addition to this observation would be to name this ideology: populism. The macho beer-swilling redneck image, the "anti-ideology," the anti-immigration stance of Abbey and Foreman, the gang mentality (evidenced in the "exposé" by Alien-Nation); these are the signs of populism. Plus there are these two observations made by others about American populism in general: "[Is] not populism the forerunner of 'grass roots' democracy? [Does] it not seek to subject the government to the people's will,...to turn legislators into registrants of the people's will? [Is] it not suspicious of the upper classes...?" and "The essential point about populism...is that despite an anti-business emphasis, such as we normally associate with the political left, it has a profoundly conservative thrust. It seeks to restore, not change." (Quoted from *The Politics of Unreason*; Lipset and Raab, University of Chicago Press, 1978, pp 220 and 542 respectively).

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Was Malthus Right? An Exchange on Deep Ecology and Population

Dear Mr. Bradford:

Thank you for bringing to my attention your *Fifth Estate* essay, "How Deep Is Deep Ecology? A Challenge to Radical Environmentalism." I appreciate its extensive treatment of my book, *Overshoot*. Here are some thoughts stimulated by having read the essay twice.

I have no objection to being characterized in your essay as "a leading modernizer of Malthus" for I believe that our future would be much less endangered were Malthus more widely and more accurately understood. He never claimed human populations always and everywhere increase exponentially ("geometrically") nor did he say nothing could prevent a population from outstripping increases in its food supply.

What I have characterized as the "culture of exuberance" that arose from European expansion into the New World has blinded most people to the profound importance of two qualifying words in Malthus's assertion that population, when unchecked, tends to expand exponentially. The result of that oversight has been a failure to see his 1798 essay not as prediction of future demographic trends but, with its subsequent expanded editions, as a lifelong exploration of the nature of the checks that Malthus explicitly said do operate.

Modern Malthusians would indeed err if they regarded his analysis of these checks as the final word on the subject. He classified six checks—vice, misery, moral restraint, famine, disease, and war—into two categories ("preventive" and "positive") according to whether they operate by reducing the human birth rate or by increasing the human death rate. His focus was thus "anthropocentric." In contrast, modern ecologists see three categories of population-limiting relationships between a given species and the other components of its ecosystem. A species population may be predator limited, self limited, or resource limited.

The six checks discerned by Malthus can be assigned to these three relational classes as follows: famine and misery occur when a population is resource limited; vice and moral restraint (which denote within-species relationships) are forms of self limitation; and war and pestilence are instances of predator limitation (the predators being conspecifics in the case of war, or microbes in the case of pestilence). The point is that even a human population does not increase or decrease "in a vacuum" but by virtue of its interactions with the rest of the ecosystem supporting it.

I had thought my book, *Overshoot*, would help clarify the sound aspects of Malthus so contemporary writers need not persist in conventional misperceptions, uncritically supposing world history since his time has emphatically refuted him. I wish your essay had quoted the following from my book:

Sustained yields represent reproduction in excess of replacement by the resource species; the excess is then 'harvested' by an exploiting species—[e.g.] *Homo sapiens*. If Malthus were so wrong, there would have been no sustained yields of anything. In every bite of our daily bread there is a reminder of the wheat plant's ability to produce more seeds than required for its own replacement.

One of the great ironies of history has been the notion that our species was somehow exempt from a principle that manifestly applies to all other species. Malthus stated the principle of reproduction in excess of carrying capacity for man in particular. Darwin later generalized it to cover all species, and went on to

discern its evolutionary implications. In the years since Darwin, most non-biologists seem to have snugly reversed Malthus by 'slightly amending' Darwin's generalized vision—accepting its application to all species except one, ourselves...

I was disturbed by your allusion to *Overshoot* as having "become a bible of sorts to the deep ecologists" and I was unrelieved by your qualifier "even those, one would surmise, who haven't read it." Like the believer in democracy who must call himself a "small-d democrat" to make clear that he means something other than political party identity, I would consider myself a "deep ecologist" only in a deeper sense than is conveyed when that phrase is used to denote disciples of Arne Naess, etc. I don't belong to any cult, and I had a lengthy conversation with Bill Devall once cautioning him about the pitfalls of turning deep ecology into a cult.

Seeing my book labeled as a "bible" prompted me to consult a dictionary where I found the third and fourth definitions of "bible" were: "3. any collection or book of writings sacred to a religion... 4. any book regarded as authoritative or official." *Overshoot* should never be viewed as "sacred" even by readers who may share my insights. It cannot be said to be "official." It was meant to be eye-opening, and insofar as it strove to be factually accurate perhaps I should appreciate the implication that it was "authoritative." But I think the bible metaphor should just be put aside. It conjured a vision of someone resting one hand on *Overshoot* while raising his other hand to take an oath of some sort. Books are to be respected as communication devices, not mystically revered as inhibitors of perjury, treason, etc.

What, then, was I trying to communicate when I wrote it. I said in it that I was writing about the way mankind is today locked into stealing ravenously from the future. I would hope readers would see the book as a diagnosis of the industrial malady, a condition I called "diachronic competition," which I said was a relationship whereby the living generation purchases life's gratifications at the expense of posterity by overusing a world in which they will thus be deprived of opportunities to attain similar gratifications. Because other diagnoses of our contemporary predicament have missed this point, I said the book was meant to show that commonly proposed "solutions" for problems confronting mankind are actually going to aggravate those problems.

Overshoot was meant to overcome the human habit of mistaking techniques that evade carrying capacity limits for techniques that raise them, so I said it was, in a sense, a book about how to read the news perceptively in revolutionary times. I meant "revolutionary" in a more-than-political sense—fundamental change, intended or not, welcome or unwelcome. Perceptive reading of events depends on familiarity with an appropriate vocabulary of concepts, and I tried to spotlight one concept in particular—carrying capacity.

It has become essential, I said, to recognize that all creatures, human or otherwise, impose a load upon their environment's ability to supply what they need and to absorb and transform what they excrete or discard. An environment's capacity for a given kind of creature living a given way of life is the *maximum persistently feasible load*.

Loads in excess of carrying capacity damage an environment's ability to support that kind of life (a point unseen by Malthus). Insofar as industrialism

has produced overload, nature is going to require reduction of human dominance over the global ecosystem, and I tried in the book to indicate humanity's urgent need to remain human in the face of dehumanizing pressures that arise in this ecological circumstance.

I am currently working on another book exploring the impacts of industrial division of labor in generating such pressures. In *Overshoot* I wanted to illuminate the nature and causes of the human predicament so as to head off a tendency we all have to attribute our frustrations to enemies or villains. Vilification may be emotionally gratifying, but I believe it seldom solves problems.

I was not trying, as you suggest, to set forth any full-blown "ecological theory of history." Rather, my more limited aim was to underscore the ecological factor in history, a factor too easily neglected because of industrial hubris. The perspective or paradigm I now call "human exemptionism" is obsolete; we cannot afford to continue adhering to it. For a closer approximation to an ecological theory of history, I recommend *Mankind and Mother Earth: A Narrative History of the World* by the eminent historian Arnold Toynbee. Although I was unaware of it when I wrote *Overshoot* I would now strongly urge your readers to study at least its first five and last three chapters.

With regard to your essay's goal of highlighting the linkage between ecological perils and what you call "the global corporate capitalist system" I would only say I think inclusion of the word "capitalist" tends to foster a version of the "reductionism" you dread. Of course there are many attributes of capitalism I, too, deplore, but the predicament of mankind you and I both seem most concerned about cannot be reduced to a manifestation of peculiarly capitalist economic patterns. It is due to industrialism, capitalist or non-capitalist.

On this point I wonder if you haven't inadvertently committed a "racketizing" of the fundamental issue not unlike that diminution of it that you regret in *Earth First!* For a clear view of the most revealing

way to depart productively from American academic orthodoxy by taking an ecological-evolutionary approach to such matters, see the fifth edition of Gerhard and Jean Lenski's textbook, *Human Societies: An Introduction to Macrosociology*.

William R. Catton, Jr.

Graham, WA

P.S. Because I realize in retrospect that my message might have been clearer in *Overshoot* had I referred to "load" in some contexts where I spoke more conventionally of "population," I am enclosing a reprint of a recent paper, "The World's Most Polymorphic Species," *BioScience*, June 1987, in which I discussed the multidimensionality of the human load.

Dear Fifth Estate:

After moving from inner city Atlanta to a wilderness area of Washington state earlier this fall, I just received your fall issue on "How Deep is Deep Ecology?" You requested in your pamphlet that responses be brief so I will respond only to your comments relating to my previous articles in *EF!* and *Kick It Over* focussing on an integrated approach to population and justice. I still cannot understand for the life of me why Francis Moore Lappé and others focus almost entirely on this matter of "proving" that the issue of overpopulation has nothing to do with the issue of hunger. So what if it does or doesn't, there are still plenty of reasons overpopulation is a serious problem. My answer to all this could best be summarized by quoting a passage from anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (also cited in my *EF!* article):

"We have only to look at the figures in the reports to be convinced of it—life will become—if it is not already in many places...unbearable only because of the sheer number of people. I don't think it is only a problem of human resources, of finding enough food to nourish I don't know how many billions of people. Even if this problem was solved—I doubt very much that it can, but even if it were solved, it would not modify in any way the fact that there is for (human)

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It's difficult to say what the future holds for the wilderness wardens of *EF!* With the Yule 1987 issue, Foreman seems to be leading an ideological entrenchment, so it doesn't appear that he is going to try to take any of the latest criticisms to heart.

There's more to say, of course, but I'll leave it either to someone else or a later day. Bye for now.

blueberry

Pre-Christian Garage

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To The Fifth Estate:

I felt that your essay, "How Deep Is Deep Ecology?" was a good if somewhat dull critique of the "extreme greens" (the latest yuppie salad). George Bradford had some gems hidden in the acres of print, not the least of which was the "living within nature, rather than under it."

Fredy Perlman, I think, made it abundantly clear in *Against His-Story, Against Leviathan*, that in most cases it is not the activity (e.g., agriculture) which is evil, but its organization (e.g., agribusiness, cash crops, etc.). George Bradford's work would have been more illuminating had he stripped the *EF!* critique of its over/under duality and false dichotomy and pursued the meaning of "within."

To ecological militarists there is only the "dialectic" (as there was only the "dialectic" to the social militarists and only good/evil to the religious militarists) of nature-dominating/nature-submissive, producing the ecological jihad of Abbey, et al. It is no surprise that the "leading lights" of *EF!* are racist, chauvinist, and militarist; it is the simplest reduction of reality guaranteed to restore ego-harmony in the troubled soul. A gospel, a chosen few, and a god leads to righteousness within the bearer.

My reaction to the pure and the righteous is always to tell them, stop using cars, toenail clippers and good whiskey. There is little room in life for the righteous because the problem is within and without. George touched a universe which needs observation (I hesitate to use the word explore for its unhealthy connotations). What do activities look like when they appear within nature rather than "above" or dominating her?

We humans are not her "first born" nor her "black sheep," but we are the most dangerous of her children. One obfuscating aspect of the critique of "domination" is that it assumes that we actually do dominate nature rather than operate "as if" we do and can. The truth is that the planet will "balance" the activities of humans even if it results in their destruction. The time frame of balancing may seem enormous to us, but it is but a blink in the eye of the cosmos. The impact of "civilization" has occurred within the last 1% of human-time which is but an infinitesimal fraction of the life of the biosphere.

Abbey and the *EF!* crowd do not deserve the attention they are getting. They are the "civilized recuperation" of yet another eruption of repressed humanity. They are not a shock or a surprise, merely the latest return of Wiske or Coyote spirit.

The shimmering food chain is perhaps a fraud that cloaks our misunderstanding of what we are. We cannot really visualize the process as a chain of organisms preying on one another with our species at one end or the other, at the "top" or "bottom" of such a chain. We exist in a cycle of relation with all other species and elements of the planet/universe sharing all aspects of ourselves with those other species and elements constantly in renewal and constantly in "balancing" whether we choose it or not.

Alan
Dallas, TX

More letters—next page, column 1

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next page,
column 2



Illustrations by J. J. Grandville

Letters—continued from previous page

Dear George Bradford,

Thank you very much for sending me your special issue on deep ecology. I am glad that these issues are being subjected to critical thinking and examination. I am especially disturbed by Alien-Nation's account of being suppressed at the EF! Rendezvous, and I intend to ask around about what happened there. At one EF! action I took part in, I raised a question about how the media would be handled regarding a particular point, and was told "the EF! line on that is...."—an attitude I find completely contradictory to the decentralized, grassroots-based structure that EF! aspires to.

I am pleased that you took on Abbey's statements about Mexican immigration, which strike me as outrageous, indefensible, and anything but "deep." By and large, Mexicans don't come north because they want to, they come because of a series of overwhelming economic imperatives. A truly deep perspective must include the reason Mexicans are leaving their land and address those making it possible for them to stay put if they want to.

I understand what set you off on your trashing of deep ecology and Earth First!—they are saying their share of disturbing things. But let me suggest that most of what's wrong with deep ecology is that it is only part of the solution: it talks about obligations to the natural community but not the human one. A more constructive approach than trashing someone's outlook for being incomplete is to complete it for them. That is exactly what Frances Moore Lappé and J. Baird Callicott do in the enclosed essay, "Marx Meets Muir: Toward a Synthesis of the Progressive Political and Ecological Visions," *Tikkun*, Sept/Oct. 1987. Callicott is an environmental ethicist and as such nicely complements Lappé's *Food First* perspective; in the essay, they search together for greater truths than either of them has alone. One of the truths that deep ecology holds is that, as David Rains Wallace wrote recently, "(w)e can't draw a line between living integrity and mere exploitable matter without sooner or later finding some part of ourselves on the wrong side of the line." This statement should be equally appealing to people who have focussed on preventing the exploitation of other people as it is to people who have focussed on preventing the exploitation of Nature.



As to your critique of deep ecology, it seemed to me that a number of crucial distinctions are blurred. Your scathing condemnation of Catton's *Overshoot* seems to me a "straw book" argument. I am not persuaded that it represents the main body of deep ecology thought; Catton's inclusion in the deep ecology anthologies may be a tribute to pluralism, not a canonization. Drawing parallels to field ecology is not in itself wrong; one can gain insight from the interactions of other species, as long as one decides thoughtfully what can properly be applied to social ecology.

Finally, there are a few points I'd like to raise in a sentence or two. Snowmobiles (p. 9) do not necessitate petroleum-based fuels. For 15 years, ecologists have talked about the need for renewable fuels (alcohol or methane based); as for the motors, they could be made in intermediate-technology machine shops. Russia may have been relatively empty of people (p.14), but bear in mind that any ecological model would show that carrying capacity depends on climate, so its potential may not have been much greater than more populated parts of more temperate Europe. I'd be very curious what your

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kind as for every living species an optimum density...What is taking place now...is that people are getting so close together...that each of them becomes a threat and a hindrance to (their) fellow beings." (Gender-exclusive language adjusted by author of this letter.)

You also cite the odious scenario often made by Food First types "the entire world's population could fit inside the United States with a density less than that of England," and I suppose live happily ever after with plenty of food and resources for all, right? My God, what on earth are people thinking of when they quote such pseudo-statistics approvingly? Once again, I feel like this has already been answered by someone else better, this time the reviled and hated arch-guru of the Earth First! tribe himself, Edward Abbey:

"Maybe the technologists are right; maybe they can create conditions that will support ten billion people on Planet Earth, or even more...It might be possible, for example, to farm the entire land surface and the oceans too. We could support far more humans that way. We could process sewage into bouillon cubes, eat algae, seaweed, plankton.

"All those things are theoretically possible. But...it seems like it would be a wretched world to live in...billions of humans packed into some sort of planetary food factory. Buckminster Fuller thought it could be done. But the question is, *should* it be done? Who would want to live in such an ugly world?"

Finally, I think your charge of "fascist tendencies" within the Earth First! movement has merit, and is one that we need to take seriously. However, those of us on the left know that the term "fascist" is a very easy political football to toss around, and it smears all that it touches. Hitler also spoke of how much easier large masses of people were to manipulate than individuals, and during World War II the Nazis and other Axis powers used the concept of "Lebensraum"—that their land base was severely overpopulated—to justify their drive for expansion. (See Katherine and A. K. Organski's "Population and World Power" for more on this.) There is also ample evidence that the practice of "continuous growth" was not known to primitive or native peoples, but started only as an outgrowth of the imperial European mindset, the virus of which has been transferred to its former colonies with disastrous effects.

It is clear to me that population pressure causes a veritable Pandora's box of ecological, social and political problems, and that contrary to Lappé and Collins' glowing portrayal of communist China in their book, *Food First*, chronically overpopulated

countries such as China (now well over a billion and rising) are severely subject to the forces of totalitarian takeover and controls, as well as the near complete loss of communal self-reliance and personal freedoms. And despite all the bad press Abbey, Foreman and others have gotten (and undoubtedly will continue to get), I still believe that they have done us a service by stressing these issues (not mentioned in your essay), which point to a fundamental flaw in Lappé and Collins' happy democratic socialist society where the entire population of the world can fit inside the territory of the United States with plenty of room to spare, and the earth can easily support 10 billion, perhaps 50 or 100 billion human beings before it reaches the breaking point.

With as many people on the left—both anarchist and non-anarchist alike—now mouthing this absolute garbage (which will surely lead to some sort of fascist or totalitarian dictatorship if it is allowed to happen, and which, by the way, must make the Reagan thinktanks proud for a job well done), is it any wonder that people like Dave Foreman and the Earth First! movement are rising up as a counterforce, perhaps naive and mistaken in certain of their views, but by the very strength of their convictions a breath of fresh air to the piper march of the Food First Institute.

Bill McCormick
North Cascades, WA

Response to Catton and McCormick

To William Catton, let me say that he may need to read my essay again, since I dealt directly, and at great length, with the arguments that he insists on essentially repeating. I did not say that Malthus claimed the exponential increase of population always and everywhere, but that based on his view of nature as permanent and universal scarcity, he argued that population was always and everywhere pressing against available food supply. Malthus made his claim in answer to contemporary utopian writers who had speculated on a future in which human population might possibly overload the planet. Malthus' argument was that the image they presented was not of the remote future, but the present, in which the majority of humankind was doomed to suffer famine, disease, war and the rest. He believed that if the food supply was increased, or the poor were to receive proper rations from society, their numbers would only increase due to their propensity to multiply beyond their means, and press against food supply once more. After being attacked by his contemporaries (like the poet Coleridge, who wrote in the margins of the "quarto" or pamphlet containing Malthus' essay, "Are we now to have a Quarto to teach us that great misery and great vice arise from Poverty, and that there must be Poverty in its worst shape wherever there are more Mouths than Loaves and more Heads than Brains!"), he tempered his thesis by emphasizing the *capacity* to increase more rapidly than food production in the absence of population checks (paralleled interestingly by Catton's qualifier in *Overshoot* of a "potential" for population to overshoot carrying capacity). As Dennis Wrong argues in *Population and Society*, this capacity is undeniable, but "it leaves entirely open the degree to which at a given time the capacity is actually being realized...for whenever a case is found in which the means of subsistence are abundant and population growth falls short of Malthus' maximum rate, by definition the checks are at work preventing a more rapid increase." I have discussed this at greater length in my original essay and refer readers to it. But it is necessary to stress that Malthus' formulation referred to a "natural law" said to function under all conditions, and therefore argued to let the poor starve—what Malthusian acolytes today call "die-off"

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of the species to "let nature find its own balance."

Catton, like other Malthusians, doesn't read Malthus in an historical mode, so he does nothing to answer the historical critique I wrote of Malthus and Malthusianism. I said that outside of its social context, Malthus' "principle" might have been mere speculation. But given its context, the ideological justification for brutal class rule is obvious, in Malthus and in his followers. Malthus wrote, "That the principal and most permanent cause of poverty has little or no direct relation to forms of government, or the unequal division of property; and that, as the rich do not in reality possess the power of finding employment and maintenance for the poor, the poor cannot, in the nature of things, possess the right to demand them; are important truths flowing from the principle of population..." As Marx commented in *Capital*, "The great sensation this pamphlet caused was due solely to party interest...[and] was greeted with jubilation by the English oligarchy..." Given the refusal from all deep ecologists, be they of the "big D" or "small d" variety, to read Malthus in his historical context, and the frenzied red-baiting and slander of their critics as "boring leftists" or "red-green" putschists or freakish, three-headed "anarchists-marxists-leftists" (Bill Devall's sparkling formulation), I take a risk in even citing Marx, despite his insight into Malthus' principle as political ideology (and apart from the problems in Marx, which I also noted in my essay). And, given their disturbing tendency to historical know-nothingism, who knows what other corpses the deep ecologists will resuscitate?

Catton has not addressed my central criticisms of his book, so I will briefly review them. Based on simplistic computations of present world energy and minerals consumption, Catton argued in his book, "There are already more human beings alive than the world's renewable resources can support," and furthermore, that the present levels of industrial destructiveness are "unavoidably created by our life processes." I think my essay more than adequately demolished his thesis, but he never responds to my objections to his numerical methodology for identifying carrying capacity (or "load," which is already explicit in his thesis, and which answers none of the objections). Nor does Catton respond to my discussion of the current hunger crisis or my critique of his historical analysis.

While he may deny having elaborated a theory of history, his description of the "ecological factor" claims to explain everything, from oil shortages to the rise of ancient empires to the post-First World War inflation crisis to the emergence of the political culture of the United States, crudely reducing complex social-historical developments taking place within human culture to terms borrowed from biology (where they are interpretatively problematic to begin with). Hence, his historical treatment of U.S. empire is appalling. The U.S. "tried honestly and generously to share the fruits of its frontier experience with people in societies overseas," he tells us, but "American imperialism was essentially fruitless"—where has this guy been? And his statistical casuistry ignores global corporate exploitation. Oil and mineral shortages supposedly demonstrate how the U.S. population "had already overshot" the country's carrying capacity. My response to this insane reasoning was that only a critique of the system that turns food into a commodity—a critique of the commodity system as a whole—will explain the destructive swath of this civilization. Catton simply refuses to engage in this discussion.

Most troubling of Catton's omissions is his failure to repudiate the statements of Foreman, Abbey, et al, or at least to distance himself in any way from them (other than to let us know of his warning to Bill

Devall of the cult possibilities of deep ecology—he should now be realizing that this cult is fully in operation). Malthus' defense of misery and his call to "court the return of the plague" has found a sinister revival in Garrett Hardin's pseudo-theories of the "tragedy of the commons" (quoted favorably in the article Catton sent) and a "life-boat ethic," as well as in recent "deep ecological" applause for deadly viral diseases, the closing of nation-state borders, starvation and higher infant and child mortality rates in the Third World, and even jokes about biological warfare. And Catton's streamlined model of Malthusianism merely contemporizes eighteenth-century obscurantism with academic jargon—jargon reeking of the alienation and dehumanization of the laboratory. This isn't "thinking like a mountain," to use ecologist Aldo Leopold's resonant phrase, but calculating like an investor's computer.

In his clarification of his thesis, Catton makes the same error of qualification that Malthus did in his retreat to the notion of a capacity for exponential growth beyond subsistence. His notion of "load" ("the product of two dimensions: the number of users and the mean per capita use...An increase along one axis...must be compensated by a decrease in the other dimension.") is an abstraction that in the most general terms makes sense, but which is meaningless in any real sense in the same way that his number-crunching in *Overshoot* is meaningless. The schema only works by balancing two abstractions against one another: population *per se* means nothing, and per capita use means nothing except in relation to actual use in a certain social configuration (Pentagon bio-war budgets get figured into my per capita use to show that I cost the Earth too much). In a society like the U.S., where some people, dressed in rags and malnourished, die of exposure just outside the resplendent palaces of the rich and powerful, and where energy is expended and eco-systems contaminated for the express purpose of undermining subsistence (as the U.S. is doing in Central America), Catton's impalpable graphs are void of meaning or context. They only serve to mystify the real issues: what it means to create an ecological culture, and how this project can only be anchored in human freedom and long-term well-being in the fundamental sense of those words.

Catton's logic—aimed at "policy makers" without questioning the social conditions for the hierarchy that puts these rulers into their positions of power—has the same thrust as Malthus', and his arguments could have been made just as easily by the parson: "In particular," the professor lectures the politicians he hopes to gain as his audience, "the supposition that Earth is a cornucopia for mankind needs serious modification." (Doesn't your run-of-the-mill Republicrat say as much when he slashes funds for the needy?) The professor misses the point that

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sources are for the fraction of agricultural lands sprayed with various pesticides (p.21). The figures you cite seem surprisingly low, but I am willing to have my preconceptions rearranged.

Seth Zuckerman
San Francisco, CA

Bradford responds:

My essay was not meant as a simple "trashing" of deep ecology, but like Lappé and Callicott's, attempted to synthesize an ecological and radical social-political vision to show the limitations of deep ecology. One need not be a deep ecologist to affirm both our community with and obligations to the natural world. But there is too much additional baggage in deep ecology. Deep ecologists appear to have *ideologized* the insight of biological symbiosis and civilization's crisis of culture and character by ignoring the specific social context of civilization in its advanced capitalist stage as the *culmination* of the culture crisis which has separated us from the natural world. At the same time they accept much of the scientific-technological ideology of capitalism to justify their political ideology and program. For this criticism of deep ecology my essay was written off by EFL ideologues as "leftist-anarchist-marxist" rhetoric and "leftist humanism."

I cannot agree that Catton is not integral to standard deep ecologism, since his argument is a modernized Malthusianism that is employed by all deep ecologists I've seen so far, either explicitly or implicitly. On your short comments, I agree that field ecology has its insights if one practices extreme caution and a self-critical attitude about applying different forms of complexity to one another. You may be right about snowmobiles, and I am open to small-scale technical ideas, but I am as worried about the snowmobile's erosion of the symbolic world and community as I am about its impact on the environment. (See "The Snowmobile Revolution," in the Summer 1981 *FE* special issue on technology, available from our book service.) The comment on Russia was made simply to emphasize the reductionism characteristic of Catton's book that links so-called carrying capacity directly to political culture.

As for the pesticides question, my figures came from *Food First!*, which was extensively documented, but I am continuing to seek more information on the problem of pesticides and technologically agriculture in general. Figures on pesticide use vary widely. Greg Kaza writes in a recent article ("The Poisoning of America," *Detroit Metro Times*, January 6-12, 1988), that according to Environmental Protection Agency figures, pesticide use has nearly doubled over the last 25 years, and pesticide residues are considered "the nation's third worst environmental cancer risk after toxic chemicals in the workplace and radon gas in the home."

Russel H. King and Dick Russel have written (in "Arms Race with Nature," *The Guardian*, December 23, 1987) that since 1962, "synthetic pesticide production and use in the U.S. rose 330%." They appear to include production for export of pesticides (including those banned in this country, such as DDT) in their figures. (One error in my essay reported that one third of pesticides produced here go to the Third World; actually the figure is one half.)

Lappé and Collins' estimate that only a total of 20% of crop and pasturelands are treated with all or any pesticides comes from sources such as *BioScience*, *Environment*, and other environmental journals. The figures seemed low to me as well, and I had thought that this area of my argument would generate some positive challenges from deep ecologists that would further the discussion and force us all to examine industrial agriculture more closely.

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None have responded along those lines. Kaza writes that "farmers account for 77% of total pesticides annually." If Lappé and Collins' figures are accurate that half of all pesticides used in agriculture go on non-food crops, perhaps their low figures of pesticide use refer only to food croplands rather than total croplands. That would be more in line with the statistics cited by Russel and Kirk that 70% of all U.S. cropland receives pesticides. There do seem to be some discrepancies, and perhaps readers and the writers cited here can respond with more information.

Nevertheless, there is plenty of evidence in *Food First* and elsewhere that even if one accepts some pesticide use, applications are wildly excessive and could be reduced by anywhere from 50 to 90% with a more "integrated" approach to "pest management." Furthermore, Russel and King confirm Lappé and Collins' figures that crop loss to pests has remained around 30% from before the use of pesticides to today. Lappé and Collins argue that if they were eliminated altogether, "crop loss due to all pests...would rise only about seven percentage points."

At any rate, I believe (and we have argued in the *FE*) that industrial-chemical agriculture must be halted, particularly pesticides, which are destructive ecologically on every level and ultimately suicidal. I believe that a sustainable, small-scale organic agriculture that in no way resembles current monoculture is not only fully possible but absolutely necessary. I also think that this is possible without having to make incursions into remaining wilderness areas. But I'd like to see more discussion of all these questions.

FE note: The Lappé/Collins essay mentioned by Zuckerman was sent to us by Frances Moore Lappé after she received our essay. While it has some very thoughtful contributions, the synthesis of ecology with so-called "progressive politics" is problematic. Progressivism makes up a political spectrum ranging from hard core stalinists (who made use of the term in the 1930's and since to create opportunistic and manipulative popular fronts with sections of the ruling class) to Cold War Democrats (a redundant phrase made for emphasis). Progressive politics seeks globally to create alternative models of industrial development and national states and, except on its left fringe, perhaps, has little or no critique, in our view, of mass technology and communications, authoritarian politics, and development. It has served as the left wing of capital in countries where the historic bourgeoisie was too weak and subservient to foreign domination to develop capitalism, and has employed authoritarian-Jacobin political models to seize the state and develop a statified capitalism to industrialize. This has led to the development of societies in many ways modeled after the capitalist world—intensive energy development, mass planning by elites, industrialism, chemical agriculture, a commodity culture, etc. A footnote in the Bradford essay containing a stronger critique of *Food First* along these lines was somehow left out, though the basic point was made that industrial development is capitalism and will lead to the kind of alienated, hierarchical and ecologically destructive society present wherever industrialization has occurred. Nevertheless, we are making reprints of the Lappé/Callicott essay available to readers for postage for the positive points it does make about the necessity for social and economic critique by ecologists.



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even a cornucopia can be squandered and forever fouled by a pathological, totalitarian civilization. Yet his logic leads where one would expect: quoting an ecology textbook, he tells us, "The time is already on us when...the carrying capacity of our living space is not enough to provide a broadened niche for all men who now exist." What a "broadened niche" implies is ambiguous enough (Porsches for everyone?), but otherwise the line is clear: some of us will have to go, now. Of course deep ecologists of the Malthusian stripe (are there any other? can it be that a new world paradigm, as they describe it, could already be so rigidly defined?) do not include themselves in this category, we can be sure.

Modern Malthusianism, even propped up by the legitimate insights of conservation biology and ecology, evades the problematic character of human culture and how we exist on Earth. For human beings, famine and misery are not necessarily the results of a condition in which "population is resource limited," as Catton has it. More often than not, famine and misery occur for social reasons. And it is certainly the case that the natural limits of the Earth (and one would be even more insane to argue that there are no natural limits, as some technocrats do) are not the cause of the famine and misery that plague humanity today. Furthermore, it is poor biology and even worse sociology to draw simplistic parallels between human social categories of war (or even disease, when it is the kind of selective death that occurs when children are dying of malnutrition and dysentery in poor countries dominated by agribusiness) as "predator limitation." When the military machines presently in command of the rival empires decide to unleash their nuclear and biochemical arsenals in a final conflagration for flag and country, will that, too, be natural checks, predator limitation, as well? Catton's thesis takes a general and important recognition of natural limits and turns it into scientific ideology. He should ponder exactly how his mystifications are employed by those who do treat his book as a kind of bible—an authoritative book by my dictionary—with an argument that for Earth First! eco-moonies has become a deep ecology "litmus test."

There are many important insights gathered within the traditions affirmed by deep ecology adherents, which is why we were so favorable to deep ecology and Earth First! when we first became aware of them. It seemed we were moving in essentially the same direction—toward an earth-based, visionary and liberatory refusal of megatechnic civilization and industrialism, capital and the state, and an affirmation of human community and community with nature—which led us to begin an exchange with them in the spring of 1986. We need not take seriously their claim as their philosophical property and their "paradigm" the visionary, earth-based counter-

tradition that since the emergence of Leviathan has stood counterposed to a civilization and its destruction of nature and the human spirit. That tradition belongs to us all. What is far more negative about the deep ecology movement is its thorough contamination of the primal, animist, visionary, earth-based vision with their spurious "anti-class posture," their mean-spirited Malthusianism and their sage-brush national chauvinism.

The destruction of nature is bound to the collapse of human community itself, and the two crises are one, to be resolved together. A spiritual identification with the natural world that maintains an instrumental attitude towards humanity ought to be suspect from the start; it isn't even consonant with deep ecology's more fundamental reasoning, after Aldo Leopold's call to extend the ethical basis for community from human beings to the land. The deep ecology movement, in contrast, doesn't even see beyond the borders of the imperial nation-state or the nationalist control of "resources," which are themselves the culmination of the crisis in human community which began the process of degradation of the whole planet in the first place. And deep ecologists, depending on a Malthusian vision and elitist support for the nation-state, will never achieve the renewal of the earth that they claim to desire, but will only reproduce capital's war-of-all-against-all and ensure our species' mutual destruction along with everything else.

The anti-class posture that Catton shares with deep ecologists blinds him to the structural character of the global system of domination and exploitation that is destroying the biotic integrity of the planet. "We" aren't so much "stealing ravenously from the future" as he puts it, so much as a global megamachine made up of interlocking rival empires is stealing from the past, present and future to accumulate capital, congealed wealth and the structures of power and repression that maintain it. The plunder going on is the result historically and currently of world capital. Catton would like to distinguish capitalism from industrialism—but where has there ever been an industrial system without capital?

Industrialism and capitalism are two elements of the same alienated, megatechnic civilization. What drives industrial development East and West is the accumulation of capital, and in turn it takes accumulated capital to continue industrialization. In both the private capitalist West and the state capitalist East, nature is exploited and destroyed by a hierarchic work pyramid in which, in order to survive, wage laborers and slaves must sell or surrender their vital life energies—kill themselves in order to live. They survive by purchasing (or being doled out) their subsistence and sometimes their empty luxuries in the form of commodities, paying with money printed by the State. At the core of such



societies is coerced, alienated labor. At the summit are powerful banking, industrial, government, and military administrators, who in the West are often the formal, juridical owners of the productive and economic apparatus, while in the East they are only the privileged representatives and administrators for a state which replaces the capitalist owner. Finally, in both kinds of societies, culture and subsistence are themselves thoroughly commoditized and technicized. And in some ways, the systems are converging into the same essential form: increasingly technocratic, statified and bureaucratic megamachines. Catton seems to be completely unaware of a whole current of anticapitalism, growing out of utopian socialist, anarchist, and libertarian communist perspectives, as well as other revolutionary traditions that long predate Marx and "scientific socialism," but if he is ever going to understand the character of the modern world, he will have to investigate them. I doubt that we can get to a point where we can face the state of nature until we've confronted the nature of the state.

Catton mentions that there are "many attributes of capitalism" that he, too, deplores, and I'd be curious what they are, but perhaps even more, I'd like to know what attributes he endorses, his "ecological factor" notwithstanding. The looting of nature and the pulverization of ecosystems, peoples and cultures, particularly in the Third World where my discussion of hunger and ecological devastation centered, is largely the work of specific, international capitalist institutions. Multinational corporations chop down the forests and mine the mountains and the seas, finance development institutions and equip uniformed mercenaries to murder anyone who gets in the way. To abstractly decry industrialism while omitting mention of its material context is moral and political cowardice, blindness, or both. It is the other side of a false coin, balancing the leftist pseudo-opposition to capitalism that leaves mass technology, industrialism, and the exploitation of nature intact.

In response to Bill McCormick, I see a parallel between Catton's evasion of my discussion and McCormick's attempt to shift the debate entirely outside its central concern, the current starvation crisis and the destruction of planetary biodiversity. Thus he responds that "proving" (he must put this word in quotation marks to emphasize, one assumes, that no amount or quality of evidence will convince him) that hunger and current ecological destruction are not the result of over-population is meaningless. "So what if it does or doesn't?" explain the current chaos, he says. That is a big "so what," since my essay essentially demolished the arguments of Malthusians that overpopulation is the cause, and thus their rationalizations for mass death.

McCormick would benefit as well from rereading my essay, and perhaps *Food First*, too. Neither the authors of *Food First* nor I ever argued that population growth is a matter of anything less than grave concern, and there wasn't even the suggestion in my essay that it might be a positive thing. I wrote that as population continues to grow, "it is fair to ask

what possibility there will be for liberatory societies living in harmony with the natural world." I stressed that "technofix responses" like those described by Abbey or by technocrats from Herman Kahn to Buckminster Fuller "are either absurd fantasies or 'solutions' that are worse than the problem itself." In the name of biodiversity and the quality of all life, we need, in my view, to confront the population question with a long-term goal of population reduction, and I thought I made that clear in my essay. But blaming hunger and present destruction on overpopulation is a critical error (and in many cases a manipulation), and because ideas have material consequences, it will determine how we all will "respond to a whole complex of associated problems." I don't know how to make this clearer than I already have, and Lappé and Collins essentially make a similar point, despite McCormick's uninformed depiction of their argument.

The modern Malthusians ignore the connections between runaway population growth and the destruction of traditional societies, and the powerlessness and landlessness that result, and thus reduce this complex of associated problems to a crude "natural law," consigning the victims of the global machine

world, and everything in it, are being reduced to money, and, finally, to toxic waste." This means that only a revolutionary social transformation that defends human freedom, particularly women's freedom, as its focus and that brings about agrarian revolution and confronts the whole structure of capitalist mass technological development, production and distribution, will begin to address the complex of crises that create the conditions for the population explosion. A focus on population control that sees population growth as the source of the crisis and as the focus for change, doesn't work (as Lappé and Collins, and Betsy Hartmann's book, *Reproductive Rights and Wrongs*, reviewed in this issue, demonstrate)—it doesn't even lower population, even when it makes a token and abstract tip of the hat, as McCormick does, to social justice. Instead, it legitimates reproductive coercion, starvation and genocide.

Deep ecologists have failed to address my criticisms, the arguments about world hunger, or about how to go about lowering population levels in a way that doesn't dehumanize us into monsters willing to commit any crime (from closing borders to expelling immigrants to forced sterilization, gassing

the "unfit," walling up the world's ghettos and starving the "human pests" inside, etc.) to bring about such change. So for example, poet Gary Snyder can say that "an immediate reduction of human population" is necessary "to allow wildlife its place on the planet," and then add by way of qualification, "Not something you can hope to accomplish in this century, or maybe even the next, but this would be something to shoot for over the next few centuries." Someone will have to explain the flagrant contradiction in this statement—I've seen it in two separate deep ecology articles without comment. The fact is that only revolutionary social transformation along the lines I have described gives us a shot at what Snyder, and all of us, desire, while the Mal-

thusian position will only increase the deepening immiseration and destruction, working to undermine the very biodiversity and human community it claims to defend.

McCormick also quotes selectively from Claude Lévi-Strauss, who wrote in *Tristes Tropiques* (from where I believe the passage cited by McCormick also comes), "Once men begin to feel cramped in their geographical, social and mental habitat, they are in danger of being tempted by the simple solution of denying one section of the species the right to exist." Too many of the deep ecologists appear to have reached that point. For some, in fact, the response has been, if this be fascism, so be it. If deep ecologists plan on participating in the world-wide elaboration of a vision of human community with the natural world and each other, they had better re-examine their hardened ideological positions and clean their house of right-wing survivalists and nationalists. Too much remains to be done, too many possibilities of freedom and harmony remain possible, and too much is at stake.

—George Bradford



Save the Great Lakes A Call to Action

The Evergreen Alliance, a Detroit-based federation of individuals devoted to stopping the Detroit trash incinerator, has put out a call for a Regional and International Mobilization to Save the Great Lakes, May 13-May 16. This weekend of activities has been organized to focus attention on the systematic destruction of the Great Lakes bioregion. The weekend will include a large-scale demonstration which will march past the Detroit incinerator now under construction and a rally at the Wayne State University campus. A conference and forum the following day will serve to educate participants with workshops, and several nationally known speakers have been invited to participate. A direct action contingent will utilize civil disobedience to blockade the trash incinerator on Monday, May 16.

The concept of the Mobilization evolved out of the growing awareness among the anti-incinerator forces of the need to link up the many different assaults on the environment in this region of which the incinerator is only one. According to the "Call to Action" printed by the Evergreen Alliance (available from them or us), the Great Lakes, once known as "sweetwater seas," have been converted into "dumping grounds and sewers for heavy industries such as steel, auto and chemical."

While some of the most obvious pollution dumping has allegedly been curtailed since the 1960's, when evidence first surfaced that the Great Lakes were in danger of choking to death on raw sewage and the dumping of heavy industry, new and even more serious threats to the lakes have emerged. All species of fish in the Great Lakes are contaminated to the extent that warnings have been issued to not eat or to limit one's consumption of fish. The human population of the Great Lakes region contains much higher concentrations of toxins in their bodies than are found elsewhere in the nation. Even the mist at Niagara Falls is toxic!

The issues raised by the Alliance's Call are as follows:

Stop the Detroit Trash Incinerator: Air pollution accounts for 60% of the toxins in the lakes. This monstrosity will be the world's largest incinerator and therefore an appropriate symbol of industrialism's assault on the natural environment. When fired up it will belch out acids, dioxins, furans heavy metals, etc.

Shut Down Fermi 2. Stop the Nuclearization of the Great Lakes: This plant, described by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission as one of the nation's most dangerous, threatens to turn Monroe into the next Chernobyl. The entire Great Lakes coast line is dotted by nuclear plants. Declare the Great Lakes a nuclear free zone.

Stop Chemical Dumping—Shut Down the Chemical Industry: "The Lakes are being used as an industrial sink for the multi-billion dollar chemical industry." The contamination is traveling through the entire food chain to the point where the breast milk of every nursing mother contains the toxic spill-off of Dow Chemical and other polluters.

Defend and Extend Great Lakes Wilderness, Wetlands and Coast: Stop the developers who would destroy the Lakes' natural shoreline to develop industry, housing and shipping. (Currently 85% of the coastline of southern Lake Michigan and 70% of Lake Erie coastline are developed). Current plans call for year-round shipping and further dredging. The delicate inter-relatedness of the ecology of the Lakes is of little concern to those who seek profits from them.

Stop the Growing Toxic Waste Incineration Industry: Industrial technology is producing astonishing amounts of toxic waste much of which is slated to be incinerated in new and existing facilities in the Great Lakes region (the City of Detroit, in particular, is actively seeking toxic incinerators).

Stop Turning the Earth into a Toxic Landfill: The ground water is becoming contaminated through the leaching of municipal, toxic and radioactive landfills. Even incinerators add to this problem as their ash laden with toxins is landfilled.

Around the Great Lakes many different individual struggles are under way to halt the destruction. For the most part these are locally organized citizens' groups which aim to stop one particular incinerator, dump, nuke plant, etc. The time is ripe to link these struggles together as all are related to the consumption-oriented, mass technological, industrialized society which seems hellbent on destroying the Earth. It is not enough to stop only those projects in one's own backyard.

This line of thought is representative of the evolution of the Detroit-based anti-incinerator fight which has now been going on for two years. In part the Mobilization grew out of the renewed interest in stopping the incinerator, in part generated by the visit to Detroit of Lois Gibbs of the Citizens Clearinghouse on Hazardous Waste. Gibbs, who played a leading role in the Love Canal struggle against chemical companies, stressed the need to stop incinerators through political mobilization. Lawsuits and experts have proven ineffective in battling government and corporations. This public meeting, organized by local residents calling themselves People for Clean Air, energized the community to step up the fight.

In the anti-incinerator movement meetings that followed, the community began discussing a broadened perspective on the problem. A number of actions followed including a 100-strong picket line of a posh dinner for Mayor Coleman Young, and a Halloween ceremony to cause an earthquake to destroy the incinerator. A 16-page tabloid was also produced at the end of 1987 which set the tone for a widened view of opposition to ecological devastation of the region.



May 13 to 16, 1988 in Detroit

The Evergreen Alliance is calling for a weekend-long Mobilization to Save the Great Lakes that is both regional and international in its focus. As we go to press many of the events are still in the planning stages; much will be finalized in the coming few weeks. The group can be contacted at P.O. Box 02455, Detroit MI 48202, or by phone at (313) 832-1738 for more information. The events as planned so far are the following:

Friday, 13 May: A public meeting on the theme of women and ecology, 7:30pm at the Wayne State University Student Center Building, Hillberry Lounge.

Speakers and program to be announced.



The Evergreen Alliance emerged from these actions and discussions, embracing the principle of a confederation of affinity groups, communities and individuals. Many different viewpoints and projects are accepted within the Alliance which does not impose one position or strategy or otherwise control the activities of the members. By working on such a confederational, decentralized, non-hierarchical form, and by broadening its focus to a general contestation of ecological devastation, the Alliance has made links with people working on issues such as opposition to the Fermi 2 nuclear reactor, other incinerators, and toxic and nuclear wastes. The possibility of a liberatory, earth-oriented community is emerging in all of these connections. The Call to Action declares, after conservationist Aldo Leopold, that people must become members of the total ecological community. "As we become kin to the land, we will see more clearly how to defend its long-term health and biological diversity, which are the only guarantees of our own survival." An ecological society in harmony with the land is possible, it concludes, and would best promote "human liberty and community."

Saturday, 14 May: A march and rally in Detroit to Save the Great Lakes. Gather at Chene and Ferry at 12 noon and march across Ferry past the site of the Detroit trash incinerator, through the Cultural Center to Wayne State University's campus for a rally. The march will be led by a Council of All Beings, representing the many species of the Great Lakes region, and carrying a sapling tree which will be planted at an appropriate site. Come with your neighbors, family, friends; bring your own banners and signs, props and costumes, masks and musical instrument to show your love for the Earth and your outrage at its destruction. Earlier in the morning, from 10am to 1pm, the regularly scheduled recycling drive will occur at the Unitarian Church at Cass and Forest.

Saturday night: A music benefit/party, location and program to be announced.

Sunday, 15 May: A conference on Saving the Lakes, at Wayne State U. General Lectures Hall (corner of Warren and Third Avenues), including speakers and workshops on the ecological crisis in the lakes. Speakers who have agreed to participate so far are Paul Connett, a well-known critic of incineration; Lois Gibbs of the Citizens Clearinghouse on Hazardous Wastes; and William Ashworth, author of the environmental history *The Late, Great Lakes*. Workshops will cover various aspects of the crisis; the FE plans to hold one on the social roots of environmental destruction.

Monday, 16 May: The Garbage Attack Group (GAG) has announced plans for a creative, nonviolent civil disobedience action against the Detroit trash incinerator.

Many other preparatory events are planned for March and April; meetings are Mondays at 7:30 pm at the Unitarian Church, Cass and Forest. The Alliance also needs donations to reprint the tabloid and pay for the conference expenses.

MORE MINNEAPOLIS ANARCHY

Our coverage of the 1987 Anarchist Gathering held in Minneapolis, June 18-22 engendered rather scant response given its criticism of "dyed-in-the-wool" anarchism, paganism as a "problematic current," and the low level of "education(al) and historical discussion" present there. We were hoping for an exchange on these subjects both for their relevance to the anti-authoritarian movement in general and as a critique of the conference which could provide lessons for the 1988 Gathering in Toronto.

Of the three letters printed below, the first continues the discussion regarding the tactics of the War Chest Tour held on the final day of the Minneapolis Gathering in which about seven people were arrested. The content of these demonstrations is unique in that they challenge entirely the concept of the state and capitalism rather than simply asking for the reform of a specific abuse of the state.

As such, the considerations raised by Dennis Stempler are of great importance since it seems as though actions of this type will be a regular feature of our Gatherings and particularly since the next one will be held in a foreign country (for many of us).

Next, John Bekken and Joe Wojak question our contention regarding the inadequacies of classical anarchism and its texts. Dogbane Campion responds for the Fifth Estate. We do not consider any of these topics closed and welcome further discussion in these pages.

War Chest Tour

To The Fifth Estate:

In writing about the June 22 War Chest Tour in Minneapolis, it's important that we do not merely act as reporters relaying eye witness accounts. Discussion is necessary if these demonstrations are to evolve to the point where they function not simply as outlets for our frustration but as tools of our intent to help create a social revolution. I'd like to discuss my perceptions which are, of course, not free from bias. As such, I am open to criticism.

One of the main questions people had during the first three days of the recent conference in Minneapolis was whether to go to the Monday demo. I found myself changing my mind on this question at least twice a day, and I did not finally decide to go until Sunday afternoon. There were many reasons for this but the main one was that most conversation about the impending demo focused on the event as a confrontation. I had no objection to this, in fact, I feel that we avoid confrontation far too much in our activities. However, I did feel that the demo was not planned with this in mind. If confrontation is our aim, there is a necessary planning, organizing, and discussion of tactics that must precede it, and this had not occurred.

This began to happen to some degree at the Sunday afternoon workshop

on the demo and a number of people brought out similar concerns. Some felt constrained as to what they could comfortably say since the discussion was being held outdoors in the park and "unfamiliar" people were constantly walking up to the meeting.

The debate at the workshop focused on the need for taking responsibility for our actions in the sense that we have to be aware of how we affect those around us. Also raised was the issue of solidarity, both during and after an event. Some felt that those who are arrested were on their own. Others felt that regardless of our disagreements, those in trouble needed our support, and that this is what true solidarity meant. It was also brought out that you don't need to be a marcher to give support and solidarity—there are other functions that also need filling on demo day.

Other discussion centered around the need for organization and tactics. Most people felt that using small affinity groups of 4-8 persons was preferable. Such groups could be further subdivided into twos and threes who would stay together at all times. The idea was that nobody could be isolated by the cops and picked off during the demo. People then broke up into large "tactical" affinity groups. Later that night I decided that I would go to the demo, for a number of reasons: I wanted to go, to lend solidarity to the others, and I felt that I had developed an affinity with others who wanted to be there.

The next day, people gathered around noon at the Municipal Center, and energies built until about 12:30, when the march set off. The intentions of the police became obvious when two people were shoved by cops, who then tried to take them away. The march at that point was still fairly focused and the cops couldn't pull it off.

A number of blocks later we reached the "porno" district. I'd rather not get into the validity, or lack of it, of

anarchists demonstrating to censure someone else. Instead look at this action as condemning a group that is maliciously exploiting others. A number of sisters and brothers at this point took off their shirts. Some had previously painted the words "Not for Sale" across their chests. The sisters, in particular, stayed close together and were ringed by many others, thus making police intervention impractical.

Shortly after this, however, people began to drift more towards the edges at a time when the energy of the march became less focused. They thus became easier targets for quick police actions.

I was told that all arrested were released the same day. Of those, two were minors, which can complicate release. Different ways have been used to handle this. One is that you can bring a letter with you that is type-written by your "parents" that empowers an adult who is with you to act as your guardian. Another way is to arrange to give the cops

a telephone number of your "parents" back in your hometown. This person can play the role and authorize your release to an adult in that city. Remember to plan ahead!

What can be learned? A demo has to be well-planned, yet not orchestrated or led. A tight, conscious solidarity is also necessary to prevent the opposition from taking control of the situation. We must be aware of both what tactics the cops are using and what our sisters and brothers are doing, so that they aren't cut off from our support. The affinity group model is helpful for this, but it is not sufficient. We need to be able to come together quickly as a group to aid individuals.

When small actions are planned or undertaken, let those around you know what's going on, so you're not left out on a limb. In every demo, there comes a time when we have to decide who is directing it—the cops or us. Usually we yield to the cops, and the demo quickly ends, leaving a few arrested. If instead we are willing to take control back, things often end differently. An example occurred during the Haymarket May 1st march in Chicago. There, the cops grabbed two people. They were surrounded, and people refused to disperse until the two were released, which finally happened. It must also be realized that this tactic can backfire, but it needs to be considered more often.

Something else I learned was that most of us know little about tactics and self-defense. This needs to be corrected and skills sessions should be developed at future conferences. Another unnecessary deficiency is first-aid. I'm planning on putting together information on this and hope to have a skills session ready for the next conference.

All in all, I'm glad I was there, and I look forward to feedback and to the next gathering.

—Dennis Stempler
Chicago, Illinois

Chapter & Verse

Dear FE:

In the Summer 1987 Fifth Estate, I greatly enjoyed the article "Anarchy in

Continued on Next Page



"Liberal" Minneapolis cops torturing an arrested demonstrator during the War Chest Tour on the final day of the 1987 Anarchist Gathering. photo—Kevin



"Not For Sale" announces the inscription on the bared chests of Minneapolis marchers.

photo/C. Lassig

Continued from Previous Page

Minneapolis" due to the fact that I was unable to attend. It provided some insight into what went on.

However, what angered me about the article is when D.G. wrote the following: "...On the one hand, it's clear that died-in-the-wool anarchism, with chapter and verse quotations from the 19th century luminaries is only a moribund ideology, a variant of leftism which has little to offer in the way of a critique of the contemporary forms of domination. . ."

These "luminaries" laid down the basic foundations of anarchism. Bakunin, Kropotkin, Goldman, Berkman, and Malatesta, whose works are classics today, themselves fought, struggled and were imprisoned for their writings and activities. The sacrifices and ideas of these pioneers cannot be neglected.

True, many of the old "chapter and verse" quotations are obsolete, but many more are basic truths that reach through the decades to the present and have established themselves as fact. Bakunin wrote "...The State is authority, force. . .

its nature is not to persuade but to impose itself by force. . ." This axiom is still true today and accepted by anarchists in general who probably don't realize where these ideas originated and where they are conclusively proved.

So, give people a break who are just starting out and are weak on anarchist thought. That's why they come to these gatherings, to learn, not to be scorned by the more experienced.

Yours in Solidarity
& Anarchism,
Joe Wojak
North Carolina USA

Genuine Anarchism

Dear Friends:

As one of the "19th century anarchist throwbacks who briefly picketed the pagan workshop" at the Minneapolis Anarchist Gathering, I was somewhat taken aback by the evident contempt for anarchist ideas and practice expressed in "Dogbane's" article (see FE Summer 1987).

"Dogbane" apparently took offense at our "rationalist" ideas (since when is there some sort of contradiction between anarchist ideas and rationality?), and at our decision not to attend the pagan workshop in order to discuss the merits of superstition and romantic nostalgia for the days when we lived in caves. We had better things to do (the workshop on Anarchist Communism, one of very few that got down to discussing the basic question of what it means to be an anarchist), and besides our picket sign said it all: "Say No to All Religion!"

"Dogbane," after suggesting that we need to go "beyond anarchism," contends that "the classical anarchist movement was eclipsed once and for all in the 1930s"—when the Spanish Revolution proved conclusively that an anarchist society is practical—"and it's not about to be revived." Anarchism, he contends, is a "moribund ideology," a "wasm."

If he feels this way, what was he doing at an anarchist gathering anyway? (The answer, of course, is clear—recruiting, just like the Trots he disparages.) For "Dogbane," anything more thoughtful than an inchoate spirit of rebellion becomes "ideology" (that is, a coherent set of ideas



collage/J. Koehnline

A Reply to the Syndicalists Anarchy & the Sacred

[FE Note: This is a response to the letters beginning on the previous page.]

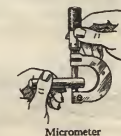
Dogbane Campion replies: To Joe Wojack, first of all, let me emphasize that I was in no way discouraging people from reading the anarchist classics; on the contrary, I stated plainly in my article that anarchists "must critically view their own counter-culture, history and current trajectory." This could not happen without a critical reading of the literature of the classic proletarian revolutionary movements, of both marxist and anarchist material, and, in fact, of the history of radical revolts since antiquity.

It also means reading the rich body of critical material on the transformations

of the modern world, in anthropology, the critique of technology and science, discussions of mass society, ecology and other related fields that 19th Century anarchist and socialist writers could simply have not foreseen.

The anarchist vision, in other words, if it is to remain true to its own spirit, must evolve and grow. Otherwise, we are left with the brittle shell of a century-old ideology—the anarchism of ideologues. It is their ideology—saturated as it was with the productivism it shared with proletarian socialism, fascination with technology and science, and a positivist, religious faith in the mystique of material progress—which must be critically assessed if the anarchist vision is to evolve and become relevant to our time, and simply reading 19th century revolutionaries will not suffice in doing so.

Jon Bekken's self-serving diatribe unwittingly provides an example of what I am talking about. First of all, I should note that for the sake of his own argument he distorts what I wrote in my essentially favorable and positive article on the gathering (and obscures my central point in the section to which he objects, which was to raise criticism of the pagans). He accuses me of opposing "rationality," an ambiguous and problematic



Micrometer

word, when it was specifically his positivist rationalism I attacked (since what constitutes genuine rationality is at least open to debate).

Bekken also dismisses the contemporary rediscovery of humankind's primal roots as original anarchies as "superstition and romantic nostalgia for the days when we lived in caves," reflecting his own ignorance of the critical advances that have taken place in anthropological literature over the last twenty years, that have merged with an anarchist and communitarian perspective to open up whole new areas of discussion of modern civilization, human community, and the nature of hierarchical power.

Bekken's picketing and dismissal of the pagans is the priggish and intolerant response of a church hierarchy: no discussions of the sacred or of a community with nature in this atheist sanatorium. Only science, only an instrumental relation with nature, only this ideological materialism (now being undermined by its own researches at the limits of science) are accepted. . .

Not only is speech suppressed in this authoritarian response, but the fundamental sources of domination in the present capitalist megamachine—scientific domination and exploitation of nature and humanity, mass technological organization of society, the transformation of human cultures by technology, the universal ideology-religion of productivism and development—are left untouched. Bekken is, in a word, an *anarcrat* who wants to impose ideological orthodoxy on a diverse movement.

Century-old modes of discourse, which should have been long-ago abandoned in recognition of the transformation of the forces of domination, end up in his schema as the basis for association. Sorry, but I don't find his religion any more acceptable than an uncritical paganism (and perhaps less so).

Bekken implies that I wrote of the need to go "beyond anarchism," when, in fact, all I said was that such a theme, proposed by someone at the gathering, "might have led in an interesting direction." But I'll take this opportunity to demonstrate an area where classical anarchist writings fall short of understanding the forces of domination, and therefore, the sources of liberty: the question of technology and science. This was done to some degree in our special 1981 issue on technology in an article, "Marxism, Anarchism and the Roots of the New Totalitarianism," and, in other debates in the FE (see our book page), but I think it merits more discussion here.

There are definitely contradictory currents within anarchism regarding technology, but it is fair to say that the dominant perspective has been productivist and scientific in embracing technological development. As in marxian socialism, scientific-technological development is uncritically perceived as a liberating force.

Kropotkin, for example, wrote in *An Appeal to the Young*, "It is now no longer a question of accumulating scientific truths and discoveries. . . We have to make science no longer a luxury but the foundation of every man's life." And Bakunin argued, "We recognize then the absolute authority of science. . . Outside of this only legitimate authority, legitimate because

Continued on Next Page

Jon Bekken
Box 2824, Sta. A
Champaign IL 61820

Anarchy & the Sacred

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it is rational and is in harmony with human liberty, we declare all other authorities false, arbitrary and fatal. Proudhon, following this current, stressed the "need for centralization and large industrial units. . . Do not workers' associations for the operation of heavy industry mean large units?"

In these affirmations of the trajectory of mass technological development that capital itself was undertaking, there was little in the way of a recognition of mass technics as an emergent social system, a planetary work pyramid. It would take another fifty to seventy-five years of capitalist development for such a critique to appear, in the post-World War II critiques of technology in historical and sociological literature, in particular the insights of Lewis Mumford's description of the industrial megamachine that grew out of the crucible of World War and the convergence of nuclearism, mass war techniques and cybernetic planning. This new mode of society, Mumford realized, reiterated in many ways the ancient slave states, and would have consequent effects on human community and the human personality which would spell even greater dangers for human freedom.

But ideological anarchists, especially the syndicalists like Bekken, haven't read Mumford; they have their noses stuck in Bakunin, who when he was at his worst, described the modern megamachine in the most positive terms. Writing on workers' cooperatives, he argued, "one can only guess at the immense development which surely awaits them and the new political and social conditions they will generate. It is not only possible but probable that they will, in time, outgrow the limits of today's counties, provinces, and even states to transform the whole structure of human society, which will no longer be divided into nations but into industrial units."

Anarchist writer Daniel Guerin added, commenting on this passage, that "these would then 'form a vast economic federation' with a supreme assembly at its head. With the help of 'world-wide statistics, giving data as comprehensive as they are detailed and precise,' it would balance supply and demand, direct, distribute and share out world industrial production among the different countries so that crises in trade and employment, enforced stagnation, economic disaster, and loss of capital would almost certainly entirely disappear." (Guerin, *Anarchism*)

This technocratic-cybernetic vision has nothing in common with a really libertarian society. As Eugene Schwartz remarks in his book, *Overskill: The Decline of Technology in Modern Civilization*, "Cybernetics is for automata, and the planned society is a prelude to the universal concentration camp."

Writers like Mumford, Schwartz, the critical theorists of the Frankfurt School, Jacques Ellul, and other critics of modern technology are not on the anarcho-syndicalist's reading list, so they do not comprehend the contemporary forces of domination that a vision of authentic human freedom must confront. Joseph Weizenbaum's important book, *Computer Power and Human Reason*, reveals the fallacy of such uncritical attitudes towards technology. Tools and machines are not mere instruments, he argues, "they are pregnant

The Socialist "Alternative" for Women



To the hysterical marxist-leninist cult, the Spartacist League, the above photos from their publication illustrate their view of what is possible for Asian women: "A woman computer technician in Soviet Central Asia [or] an enslaved Afghan woman under the veil." That's what History's implacable railroad of Progress offers, according to socialist politicians: wage slavery to socialist technology shut inside with machines every day or slavery to a religious patriarchy—some choice. Hopefully, there are women and men with a more liberatory vision than that of these two sad choices.

symbols in themselves. . . A tool is a model for its own reproduction and a script for the re-enactment of the skills it symbolizes. . . [it] thus transcends its role as a practical means towards certain ends: it is a constituent of man's symbolic re-creation of his world."

So, modern technological civilization has come to undermine and reshape culture and meaning. As Max Horkheimer wrote in *The Eclipse of Reason* on the outcome of the positivism shared by the anarchists, "concepts have become 'streamlined,' rationalized, labor-saving devices... in short, made part and parcel of production. Meaning has become entirely transformed into function . . . only one authority, namely, science, conceived as the classification of facts and the calculation of probabilities," can now be recognized. A very interesting closing of the circle started by Bakunin's genuflection to science.

At least one can say for the pagans that their symbolic connection of the world starts with nature and not the machine and the factory so worshipped by the syndicalist, which is why syndicalists are so threatened by their intuition of the sacred in the living world. As Jacques Ellul has observed, in technological society, "there is nothing spiritual anywhere. But man cannot live without the sacred. He therefore transfers his sense of the sacred to the very thing which has destroyed its former object: to technique



Microscope: 1, screws to adjust focus; 2, eyepiece; 3, objective; 4, platform to hold objects; 5, mirror.

itself. In the world in which we live, technique has become the essential mystery..." And further on he comments, "Technique is the hope of the proletarians; they can have faith in it because its miracles are visible and progressive." "... It is no less astonishing than the highest manifestations of magic once were, and it is worshipped as an idol would have been worshipped, with the same simplicity and fear."

The Technological Society

This religious fervor will have nothing to do with any remanifestation of the old nature religions. It is imperative for those who share in this complex mythology of western civilization to absolutely deny any legitimacy of the lifeways or visions of our primal ancestors. But in some sense inaccessible to scientific-instrumentalist rationalism, the natural world is our mother and living beings our cousins, and in this sense they have spirit and participate in a reciprocal communication and symbiosis with us (in fact ecological science has essentially confirmed this notion of interrelatedness). Anarcho-syndicalists, like liberal statist, as Paul Feyerabend observes in *Science in a Free Society*, "regard rationalism (which for them coincides with science) not just as one view among many, but as a basis for society. The freedom they defend is therefore granted under conditions that are no longer subjected to it. It is granted only to those who have already accepted part of the rationalist (i.e. scientific) ideology." For them, "The excellence of science is assumed, it is not argued for. Here scientists and philosophers of science act like the defenders of the One and Only Roman Church acted before them: Church doctrine is true, everything else is Pagan nonsense. . . the assumption of the inherent superiority of science has moved beyond science and has become an article of faith for almost everyone." Science has become an integral compo-

nent of society, just as the church was. "Of course, even where church and state are carefully separated, science and the state are completely integrated."

But the ideology of scientific objectivity is itself based on faith, on an irrational dogma that by posing as the only valid form of knowledge not only mystifies its own ideological foundations and leap of faith, but corrodes the possibility for a free discourse about the world in the way that Bekken's crude call to expel pagans from the anarchist gathering did. This scientific mystique, as Weizenbaum argues, is itself "an elaborate structure built on piles that are anchored, not on bedrock as is commonly supposed, but on the shifting sand of fallible human judgment, conjecture, and intuition."

Weizenbaum notes that the scientific demonstrations that the average person accepts on faith are themselves "fundamentally acts of persuasion." But, "infected with the germ of logical necessity," they claim to describe how things "actually are" and *must be*. "In short, they convert truth to provability," and reduce reality. "Belief in the rationality-logic equation has corroded the prophetic power of language itself."

Because anarchists question and confront all forms of authority and do not reduce the social question to one of class domination and exploitation as do marxists and syndicalists, one would think that there would be an open attitude and exploratory approach to the emerging critique of technological civilization and the dominant scientific-instrumentalist ideology that supports it and is engendered by it. Anarchists have always looked at the whole human being and the whole society, and explored other areas of domination and autonomy ignored by classical liberal and socialist perspectives. Anarchists should be receptive to the animist vision of interrelatedness and natural reciprocity and symbiosis: after all, such an attitude is suggested in the best passages of Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid*.

There is also an underlying critique of technology in the classical anarchists if one looks carefully, for example Bakunin's criticism of Marx's statism and support for material and economic development, in his prescient comment that "finally, when all the other classes have exhausted themselves, the State then becomes the patrimony of the bureaucratic class and then falls—or if you will, rises—to the position of a machine." This very suggestive remark indicates the trajectory of capital towards a megatechnic civilization that might leave the classic bourgeoisie and proletariat behind. (See John Clark's essay "Marx, Bakunin and Social Transformation," in his book, *The Anarchist Moment*). Marcus Graham was also accurate in his appraisal of the anarchist tradition as far back as 1934, when he wrote that he thought that "the future will prove Kropotkin, from an Anarchist point of view, has, in accepting thus the machine [as an instrument of human liberation], made one of the gravest errors. Such an attitude was perfectly logical for the Marxian school of thought, but certainly not for the Anarchist."

So too did liberal historian Irving L. Horowitz point out in his book *The Anarchists*, that the marxists had an advantage over the anarchists, since the

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marxists put their faith in developing technology, while the anarchists "never confronted," except in the later stages of the classical movement, "the problems of a vast technology," but rather ignored them by calling for a society "that was satisfying to the individual producer rather than feasible for a growing mass society . . . The anarchist literature contains a strong element of nostalgia, a harkening back to a situation where workshops were small, where relationships were manageable, where people experienced affective responses with each other. Technology and the material benefits of science were never seriously entertained by the anarchists except in a ministerial contempt for that which destroys the natural man."

Considering the anarchist quotes I gathered above, Horowitz's argument is not entirely accurate, yet he makes it for the same reasons that Bekken attacks the perspectives of the FE. Anarchism is not valid in Horowitz's view because it has not kept pace with technological progress. "We are in a technological era that is qualitatively different, that brings forward entirely new forms of social behavior and social existence. Much as we prefer not to breed fragmented specialists, it is impossible to envision the era of hydrogen power and mass electrification in terms of simple, spontaneous association of individual craftsmen. The forms of technology moving from craft to a network of minutely separated functions have, therefore, tended to undermine the idea of the anarchist Everyman."

Militants Who Wear the Word

Horowitz's argument is compelling, but it is posed backwards. Technology has certainly transformed the world, but it is the wrong question to ask whether the anarchist vision of freedom, autonomy and mutual cooperation is any longer relevant to mass technological civilization. It is a more incisive observation to ask whether freedom, autonomy or human cooperation themselves can be possible in such a civilization.

I don't think that they can coexist with it, which is why the anarchist vision does remain "more relevant than ever," but not for the reasons the syndicalist Bekken believes. Considering that critics of anarchism recognize an anti-technological current in it, and that this critique can

be found in the tradition itself if one reads carefully and critically, perhaps the FE is closer to the genuine anarchist tradition, particularly in its capacity to evolve and to confront the evolving forms of domination, than the anarchist militants who wear the word on their sleeves.

Despite Bekken's contempt for the growing interest in the lives and visions of primal peoples, that interest too resides in the anarchist tradition. As Alex Comfort writes in the introduction to Harold Barclay's out-of-print *People Without Government*, "The challenge 'go run a modern state like a pygmy village and see what happens' misses the rather unusual cast of mind which anarchists seek to impart. Unlike Marxism or democratic capitalism which are institutionalized theories, the rejection of authority as a social tool is an attitude, not a programme. Once adopted it patterns the kinds of solutions we are disposed to accept."

The growing reassessment of our primitive, animist roots has come to recognize that along with an authoritarian hierarchical and instrumentalist civilization goes an authoritarian, unitary, homogenized and instrumental form of knowledge. The rationalist wants to suppress the otherness of nature and spirit, to reduce nature to a passive object for domination and to banish spirit altogether. But, as poet Antonio Machado has written, this other "refuses to disappear; it subsists, it persists; it is the hard bone on which reason breaks its teeth."

But, as the repressive, pathological and destructive character of instrumental civilization is more and more apparent to everyone, this primal other is reasserting itself, leading to what Jamake Highwater has called "a variety of attempts to regain contact with the roots of traditions which, viewed by progressive thinkers as old-fashioned and obsolete, have slipped into oblivion. . . From the polysynthetic metaphysics of nature envisioned by primal peoples, from a nature immediately experienced rather than dubiously abstracted, arises a premise that addresses itself with particular force to the root causes of many contemporary problems, especially to our so-called ecological crisis." And Highwater quotes Joseph Epes Brown, author of many books of Native American spiritual traditions, "It is perhaps this message of the sacred nature of the land that today has been most responsible for forcing the Native American vision upon the mind and consciousness of the non-Indian."

Bekken asks what could go beyond anarchism, as if I hadn't already suggested this in my article. Quoting George Woodcock's history of anarchism that the anarchist idea "is not merely older than the historical anarchist movement, but it has also spread far beyond its boundaries," I posed anarchy as a general perspective that by renewing the vision of the primitive, animist anarchies and combining it with contemporary forms of revolt, could move "beyond ideology towards genuine radical transformation."

How much clearer must I be? I'll try. I think Epes Brown's remark suggests something—a vision of human liberation and a cooperative, nonhierarchical society will go nowhere if it does not reject the present technological, social and economic structures of life, and unless it is linked to a renewal of the sacredness of nature, its interrelatedness, and our con-

Workers of the world:



nectness to it.

If we cannot see the fundamental spirit that resides in the natural world, we cannot envision the intangible human spirit of liberty that has motivated the anarchist

project from the beginning either. A society operating under an abstracted, rationalized and instrumentalist relationship to the natural world only recreates such relations between human beings; the domination of nature and the domination of human beings originated together, and it is together that they must be abolished.

Postscript: Lost in this is the argument I made that the pagans should practice caution in their attempts to recreate this sense of the sacred and in their use of ritual, that there are dangers in the recreation of primal traditions by detribalized moderns that cannot be dismissed, that a certain measure of scepticism and self-restraint is necessary. A sense of the sacred, even of the sacred in nature, can be manipulated for authoritarian purposes.

The ancient Egyptian slave state, as Murray Bookchin notes in his recent slam on deep ecology, is a good example of such a phenomenon. Unfortunately, we got no response on this criticism from the pagans, only on the aside I made on the rationalists, who I said should take a year and sit in the woods and read some books on primal peoples (Bekken may need two or three years). I'd like to hear from the pagans; are any of you Minneapolis pagans listening?

Objections to Councilism

E. B. Maple responds: The desire to maintain the technology developed under Capital's reign after a libertarian revolution demands that it continue to be administered. The very scope of the productive process means that a similarly large deliberative and decision-making apparatus would exist to coordinate its functions. Those within the anti-authoritarian milieu, usually anarcho-syndicalists or councilists, advocate worker self-management through a system of councils as the best way to democratically and non-bureaucratically administer the capitalist means of production in a manner

consistent with a revolutionary vision.

However, to many of us, the very existence of the productive apparatus at the center of human activity, with its accompanying productivity world view, maintains the separation it has created and negates the possibility of constructing a human community. No matter how strident the call for councils may seem within the context of capitalist relationships, in revolutionary terms, it should be seen as fundamentally conservative in the precise meaning of the word—conserving

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What They're Saying About Us



"... hideous and decaying 'new age' corpse..."
Fred Woodworth, editor, *The Match!*

"... trashy gossip... unfairly biased against us..."
Paul, S.R.A.F. anti-abortion newsletter

"... flies..."
Dave Foreman, leader for life, Earth First!

"... verbal assaults, personal attacks, nonsense, garbage and rubbish..."
Bill Devall, deep ecology academic

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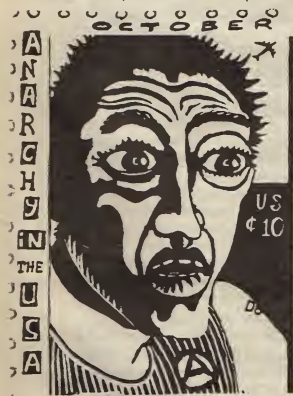
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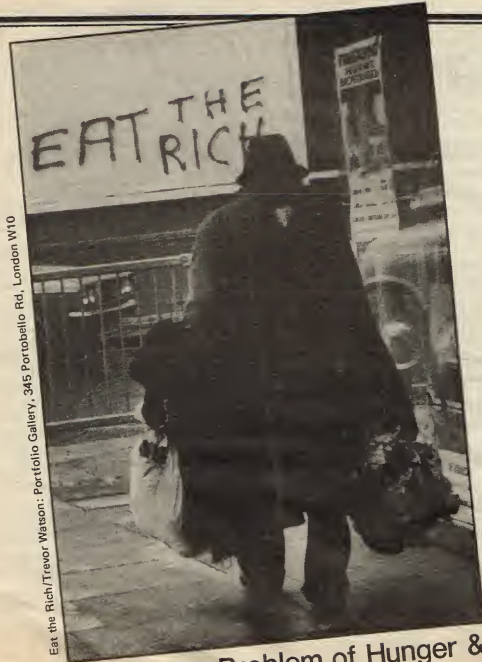
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Eat the Rich/Trevor Watton: Portfolio Gallery, 345 Portobello Rd., London W10

Solution to Problem of Hunger & Homelessness

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what is. The following, by John Zerzan, is an outline of a large and complex subject, and, hence, inadequate for a full discourse on self-management and syndicalism. Hopefully, it will serve as the basis for further discussion. Letter-length replies are welcomed.

Objections to Councilism (short form)

(A) The Adorno-type objection to ideological imposition on the future, which says the shape of freedom is not theorizable because that blue-printing closes off other (possibly more radical) departures.

(B) As a definition of anarchy, councilism is rejected: if emancipation consists of no rule, rule by councils is not emancipatory. Anarchy is not democracy insofar as it disallows any form of government.

(C) The critique of technological civilization and division of labor seeks to dissolve production; councilism is a means of directing industrial production. A world in which technology is absent has obviously no need of such coordination of specialization and economy.

(D) If the condition of worker is to be abolished, as it is already being refused in partial ways, workers councils are backward because they perpetuate it in their fundamental workerism.

(E) If representation is a negative value, councilism fails on a strictly "organizational" level. To be represented is a humiliation. Further, delegates and recall have always been, in practice, direct

routes to bureaucratization and the rule of experts (consult all trade union history).

—John Zerzan

Well, even more Minneapolis Anarchy has come our way since our introduction and page layout was begun.

First, a letter from "Some Chicago Anarchists," the conveners of the 1986 Haymarket Centennial, who question the necessity of multiple national meetings for the anarchist movement and in particular the January 16 planning meeting in Atlanta for the July Toronto Gathering. This is an abridged version of a much longer letter; the complete text is available from the above folks at: Box 163, 1340 W. Irving Pk. Rd., Chicago IL 60613.

Finally, E.B. Maple of the FE staff has his hackles up about a letter sent to the Anarchist Network List by a post-leninist group.

What Pressure?

To All Other Anarchists:

What has happened with the anarchist movement? "Increase The Pressure," what pressure? Two hundred people marching down the streets of Minneapolis. Get fucking real! Less than one out of every million people in North America was at the "massive" anarchist demo, June 22, 1987.

The "Pressure" placed on church, state and capital by the Philadelphia "Unconstitutional" demo on Sept. 17 was unmeasurable because it was almost nonexistent. Once again 75 people, a few of whom called the cops for help, is not any threat to

existing society.

For all the talk, the movement is barely growing. Even the sizes of the conferences prove the point. In the early '80s, several East Coast anarchist gatherings were held and two of them attracted over 100 people each. This means that the Minneapolis gathering, billed as a continental one, not regional and with substantially more publicity and support, drew less than 100 more people than the East Coast ones a few years before. There appears to be no growth worthy of three or four national meetings a year!

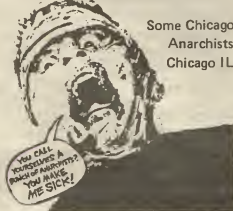
With our very limited resources, networking by mail requires much smaller costs than the staggering expense of people going to another city. Twenty people going to Atlanta, at a minimum of \$125 each means at least \$2,500 which could be used locally or on existing or new anarchist publishing projects. How this small fortune, in anarchist terms, going to oil companies, car companies, and airlines serves the cause of building the movement boggles our minds.

Central to the Atlanta idea is the notion that local groups can't do things right. Things have to be coordinated by the aspiring central committee; a handful of people in Atlanta setting an agenda for all of us.

The reason the movement is stagnating is not lack of national direction, coordination and control, but a number of factors. The most important we feel is the withdrawal of contemporary concern for ordinary people. Instead of talking about factories, contemporary A's talk about factory farming. Instead of talking about the millions evicted and homeless in major cities, they fixate on a few thousand people possibly being removed 2,000 miles away (Big Mountain). Betraying their predominantly middle class, white backgrounds, they ignore recent reports that most Americans are only four pay checks away from being homeless.

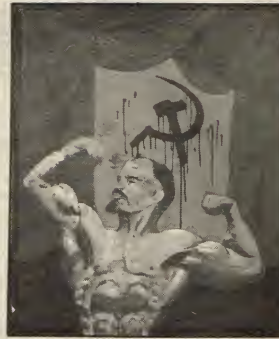
The real reason our movement hasn't grown is that instead of talking about the dreadfully boring and shitty lives most people live, and trying to develop some sense of solidarity, contemporary "A" ignores the oppression of most people in its fervor to join its brother liberals in exploring the worst possible examples of systematic oppression.

We maintain that most of what anarchists are saying has no relevance for most oppressed peoples and that our task is to tie issues together and develop a critique that will unite all oppressed peoples.



Left Salesmen

A friend recently sent us a copy of a letter from *The Torch* newspaper, official organ of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), a 30-member national grouplet which is a split of a split of a split from the authoritarian trotskyst



movement.

Stating that they are enclosing "a packet we are mailing to everyone on the Anarchist Network List" (they missed us for some strange reason), it includes *The Torch* coverage of the Minneapolis Anarchist Gathering and offers copies of their critical "A Look at Leninism" series.

Although the RSL seems to be going through internal changes regarding its leninist baggage, it should be recognized that they are involved in the time-honored (or disgraced) practice of "entrism," the leninist tactic of joining a larger, more amorphous grouping or party (a trade union or political organization, usually) with the goal of gaining recruits from the host body.

It's not that the anti-authoritarian movement should worry about this since we would probably be better off without anyone who would consider joining a socialist organization, or, as one friend told us, "Have a little confidence; we'll probably wind up recruiting them." However, the appearance of the RSL flitting around anarchist circles desperately trying to recruit members in an attempt to stave off its impending terminal collapse is more problematic than may appear.

The RSL isn't sinister like the RCP zombies, but they do have the capacity to alter the convivial quality of our gatherings and activities which are generally free of those with hidden agendas or programs. Being confronted with glad-handing politicians acting out a previously decided upon strategy is like asking a friend to dinner and suddenly having him or her try to sell you encyclopedias.

Also, the RSL retains an organizational arrogance born of their leninist roots that has not been lost during their "reevaluation" period. They defended mass murderers, authoritarian politics and the slander of anarchism for the previous 15 years of their existence. Then, after figuring out what the anarchist movement has known since 1917—that Lenin and Trotsky represented the counter-revolution in the Russian revolution—they have not missed a beat, and are now off and running trying to recruit people to the "new," more libertarian RSL.

RSL operatives, no less than the RCP, should be told politely but firmly that we don't want to be "worked," that we want to relate to free and autonomous individuals, not party functionaries carrying out directives from a central committee. If the RSL is at all serious about their rejection of leninism, let them show it in their acts, not just their newspaper.

MAY DAYS -1937

The tragic events of May 1937 highlighted what had always been the dichotomy of the Spanish War. The struggle has been widely and popularly known as the Spanish Civil War, and characterized solely as the defense of the liberal Republican government against the fascist forces of General Francisco Franco. The conflict was the prelude to World War II and the reigning mythology describes it as the "good fight" to defend democracy from the forces of barbarism, a battle which was aided heroically by the world communist movement which sent "international brigades" from numerous countries to assist the struggling Spanish government.

However, occurring simultaneously, and of more significance, was the Spanish Revolution, led by the million-member anarcho-syndicalist CNT-FAI which, although hidden from official histories, established an anti-statist, anti-capitalist communismo anarchismo throughout many of the country's fields and factories (see FE Summer 1986, "Spain '36" by David Porter).

Beginning in 1937, the Spanish central government aided by their communist allies, attempted to wrest control of the revolutionary gains from the anarchists through a campaign of murderous assaults on CNT positions of which the Barcelona May Days was perhaps the most pivotal.

The communist record of anti-anarchist terror and counter-revolutionary activity probably had more to do with the eventual defeat of the Revolution and the Civil War than did Franco with all of his aid from Hitler and Mussolini. However, this has been obscured by liberal and stalinist historians who, in tandem, disguise the treacherous record of the communists while ignoring the far-reaching achievements of the anarchist movement. Details of the Spanish events are far too complex to be explained in detail at this writing, but we highly recommend the volume under review and, additionally, suggest *Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution* by Jose Peirats, and *Vision on Fire: Emma Goldman on the Spanish Revolution*, edited by David Porter as excellent sources for information.

In the review below, Porter examines the implications of the attack on the anarchist position in Barcelona, both for the movement of half a century ago and for ours today. We welcome your comments.

The May Days, Barcelona 1937 by A. Souchy, B. Bolloten, Emma Goldman and Jose Peirats, Freedom Press, London, 1987, 128 pages, \$5.00

By David Porter

Along with Kronstadt in 1921 and the Spanish street insurgency against the right-wing coup of July 1936, the Barcelona May Days of 1937 in the midst of the Spanish Revolution stand out as perhaps the most poignant event, the greatest "moment of truth," in modern anarchist history. Within those several days and that small area was the greatest concentration ever of armed anarchist defense against the viciousness of authoritarian power. Yet the particularly disillusioning resolution of the May Days foretold better than any other single event the immense tragedy swiftly overtaking the largest anarchist movement in the world. In short, the May Days were the final great hope as well as defeat of the traditional anarchist movement.

Small wonder that passions run hot on the subject. For some, the May Days of Barcelona represent a scandalous betrayal by Spanish anarchist "leaders," such as Federica Montseny, Juan Garcia Oliver and Mariano R. Vasquez. All three greatly admired figures had the audacity to urge Barcelona anarchists to lay down their arms in the face of intentionally confrontational, bloody provocations by the anarchists' ostensibly antifascist "allies"—instigated particularly by the Communists. To "save antifascist unity," militant anarchist streetfighters and anarchist troops in Aragon ready to support the rear were told to accept a humiliating truce—one which conceded a shift in power from the likely-victorious anarchists in Barcelona to an increasingly Stalinist and repressive regime. Such a disgrace was

the culmination of the long string of "realist" assessments of options and responsibilities by a majority of anarchist "influentials" since the July 1936 outbreak of civil war and before. To their credit, many such "leaders"—as Montseny, Diego Abad de Santillan and others—learned their bitter lesson from May and later publicly admitted the bankruptcy of their collaboration with the Spanish Republican government.

The anarchists were the most influential political force in Catalonia, and they had been raised to a fever pitch by the likely victory over the violent provocations of the power-hungry Communists and their allies in Barcelona. On the face of it, it seems incredible that this grassroots movement so intensely imbued with anarchist principles, so fiery in its commitment to social revolution and the fall of the state could have been impelled to back down and defuse a revolutionary center on the verge of explosion.

Opposed Collaboration

To explore any or all of these factors would take much greater space than available here. Yet it should be noted that there were also significant numbers of Spanish anarchists who opposed collaborationism from the beginning, who foretold the trap it eventually led to in May 1937 and after. Such individuals energetically expressed strong anarchist critiques in meetings and the press, while also contributing to a vast array of successful collective experiments in agriculture, industry, the service sector, education and other realms. Many such anarchists were assassinated or imprisoned, their collectives destroyed, their opinions ignored or ridiculed by statist political forces, again particularly by the Communists. Yet they persisted as long as they could, until killed or forced into harrowing exile.

In retrospect it seems more obvious to

us now how dim were the overall chances for a successful anarchist social revolution in Spain. It is possible, as some have argued (even at the time), that a different approach to the civil war (using guerrilla instead of fixed battle-line strategies) would have enhanced the possibilities of defeating the fascists while preserving a non-collaborationist, uncorrupted anarchist movement. A prolonged struggle of this sort perhaps could have mobilized the areas of anarchist strength throughout Spain, could have avoided the worst centralizing and costly strategies, organization and logistics of traditional warfare, and could have outlasted the increasingly preoccupied Nazi and Italian fascist support which was so crucial to Franco's Nationalist success.

Possibility for Revolutionary Society

As elsewhere in parts of Europe in 1944-46, it is also possible that a significant open space for revolutionary society could have followed a successful defeat of the fascists while the Soviet Union, Britain, France and the United States were preoccupied on other fronts and in postwar reconstruction. Yet the long-range survival of such an experiment in the face of state powers everywhere else seems hard to imagine. Even worse, several immediate factors would have been more decisive than foreign invasion. The majority of Spanish people were not anarchists; even with Franco's defeat, no

doubt large numbers would have resisted social revolution. Also, most of the anarchist movement itself (the FAI and CNT) seemed willing—however begrudgingly—to accept "emergency" hierarchical and centralist practices within the movement. Thus, winning even a guerrilla war would still have required postwar armed defense against internal and external enemies, and in turn, the persisting crisis would have discouraged consistent commitment to non-hierarchical principles.

It is a virtue of the new small book *The May Days: Barcelona 1937*, edited by Vernon Richards and published by Freedom Press, to bring together four complementary accounts which set forth clearly the context and essential dynamics of the May 1937 events. Additionally, Richards' own remarks, in a preface, brief chapter, some footnotes and an epilogue, encourage an intelligent synthesis of the material without precluding potential conclusions somewhat different from his own. Of the four outside contributions, three are already available to those familiar with anarchist history.

The entry by Jose Peirats (from his *Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution, 1977*) describes the political context in which the May events would unfold. Augustin Souchy's detailed account of the events themselves was reprinted apparently only in anarchist periodicals of

Continued on Page 26



Young anarchists assassinated by the Communists in Barcelona, May 1937. —from *Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution* by Jose Peirats (available from our bookservice).

Woman's Freedom: Key to the Population Question

Reproductive Rights and Wrongs, by Betsy Hartmann, Harper & Row, New York, 1987; paper \$10.95.

This impassioned enquiry is both important and timely. It is important because it synthesizes valuable research to reveal the interlocking connections between world population growth and the related questions of hunger, ecological devastation, political economy, human health and human rights. It is timely because it adds a much-needed dimension to the critique of the Malthusian orthodoxy that overpopulation is the underlying cause of hunger and that population control is the solution. It focuses on the social relations that underlie both the population explosion and the global strategies to confront it, and ties together the discussions of world ecological crisis, the contemporary battle over reproductive rights (including abortion), the question of population control and human rights in the Third World. Much of this is addressed in Lappe and Collins' book *Food First*, but by exploring the area of population control, and women's reproductive and total human rights, Hartmann adds much to the entire discussion.

The book reflects what Hartmann describes as "an ongoing process" of thinking about the population question, and is based on several years of research as well as direct experience living in a rural village in Bangladesh during the mid-1970's. It is a valuable contribution to what should be an ongoing process of enquiry for us all. Her message is that the way out of the current impasse and drift towards greater catastrophe, the way towards stable population levels and ecological and human well being, is the same. Furthermore, it is distinctly liberatory, centering as it does on the rights of women not only to their own reproductive destiny, but to participate fully in society. Thus it moves dramatically away from an authoritarian, bureaucratic-technological domain towards a participatory, liberatory vision of human empowerment and health.

That the liberation of women is the key to the crisis is an important and compelling insight, and suggests very strongly the connection

between empire, the destruction of the natural world, the human/nature split, and the original emergence of institutions of domination over women. Such a discussion affirms the anarchist and ecofeminist perspectives that the fundamental causes of our present crisis in nature and culture lie in the origins and consolidation of the institutions of human (particularly male) domination; and the way out of the

crisis also lies in the practical opening towards freedom of self-expression and selfhood for women, which is the key to the destruction of hierarchy, the re-empowerment of human communities, access to and proper relations with the land, and human health.

This very clear picture elaborates a tragically obscured dimension: *how* exactly, "The needs of the planet are the needs of the person," and "The rights of the person are the rights of the planet," to use Theodore Roszak's excellent formulation. The salvation of the marvelous green planet, our Mother Earth, depends on the liberation of women—and children, and men—from social domination, exploitation and hierarchy. They must go together. Neither a radical political vision nor a profound ecological vision can exist without this fundamental dimension.

The Two Sides of Birth Control

Hartmann's book is refreshing in that instead of going into a long description of population growth itself, she provides a history of fertility control. Many traditions, such as abstinence and withdrawal, and techniques, such as abortion and barrier methods of contraception (like a cervical sponge or diaphragm), are thousands of years old. Some 400 species of flowering plants grown in 111 countries have been used traditionally for fertility control. Condoms, too, are quite old, and by the 1800's the process of vulcanization made possible much-improved condoms and diaphragms.

Fertility control hardly starts with Malthus, who in fact, had opposed contraception as immoral, preferring to let the poor starve as a method of keeping numbers down, as a "natural" preventive check. Only misery, poverty, famine, disease and war would keep population from expanding beyond the carrying capacity of the land.

Many working class radicals accepted the logic that excessive numbers were what kept the poor in their misery, and during the nineteenth century there were courageous attempts to disseminate birth control information both to promote lower population and to



opened by socialists in Europe, and in Germany female members forced the Social Democratic Party to reverse its opposition to birth control. In the United States, a young social activist, Margaret Sanger, founded *The Woman Rebel*, a paper with a socialist-feminist and pro-reproductive choice perspective, which was shut down by the Post Office. Sanger had to flee to Europe after being indicted on two counts of obscenity. Later the charges were dropped, but she was arrested for opening a birth control clinic in Brooklyn.

The breakdown in the alliance between radicals and the birth control movement towards the end of the second decade of the twentieth century reflects Hartmann's comment that the birth control movement had "carried within it the seeds of birth control as a liberating force as well as a means of coercive population control." Two other sources of the birth control movement had also emerged, the eugenics movement which argued for the "improvement of breeds" through genetic manipulation, and the desire by the professional medical establishment to bring birth control and reproductive decisions under its own supervision. As repression set in and the radical movement waned in the late teens and early 1920's, Sanger herself moved to the right, seeking respectability and an alliance with elitist medical professionals. (Those readers familiar with Ivan Illich's thoughtful descriptions of the professional monopolization and institutionalization of health and its subsequent destruction of human community, subsistence values, and the possibility for more liberatory modes of health, will recognize this process in the birth control movement's evolution. See *Medical Nemesis and Toward a History of Needs*.)

With the hierarchization of birth control, and the retreat by anti-capitalist radicals from feminist

BOOK REVIEWS

make it possible for women to control their own reproductivity and escape male domination. Birth control was the province of feminism, radical socialism and anarchism; Emma Goldman, for example, was arrested and jailed for distributing a pamphlet, *Why and How the Poor Should Not Have Many Children*, which described condoms, cervical caps, and diaphragms. Birth control clinics were

issues, the movement became increasingly reactionary, with racist, nationalist and fascist elements creeping in. By 1919 Sanger was writing that the "degenerate" masses might destroy "our way of life," and arguing "More children from the fit and less from the unfit—that is the chief issue of birth control." By 1932 she was calling for sterilization and segregation by sex of the "dysgenic population," a program which would soon be carried out with a vengeance by the Nazis, who in 1933 passed their first sterilization laws for people deemed "unfit." This slippery slope ended in mass extermination practices and mass starvation of psychiatric inmates and others. Although the Nazis discredited eugenist ideology in the U.S., Hartmann observes, "it never completely disappeared."

With the New Deal and the reorganization of capital in the 1930's and 1940's, birth control was once more linked ideologically with social reform. Long time readers of the FE will recognize this period as the emergence of the real (as opposed to formal) domination of capital and the integration of proletarian movements and their program into the institutions of a modernized capitalist state. With World War II, the consolidation of what Lewis Mumford has described as the nuclear-cybernetic megamachine was complete; the nazi vision of the superstate had won the war, in the newly emerged garrison states that had defeated the Axis powers. For birth control, the same ambivalent character remained: Planned Parenthood made available contraceptive techniques for millions of women, and as a result capital was able to integrate women into industry and bring about further transformation of the proletariat for its own purposes of rationalization.

Population Control and the Cold War

Perhaps the most interesting section of this history is the origins of modern birth and population control as a component of the Cold War. The desire of the United States to "contain communism" and control the resources and political developments of the so-called "Grand Area" (essentially everywhere outside the Eastern Bloc), led to a perspective of population control to thwart nationalist revolt in the Third World. The Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions frightened U.S. ruling circles, as did Indian and Indonesian independence and non-alignment. The concern, of course, was the "security" of raw

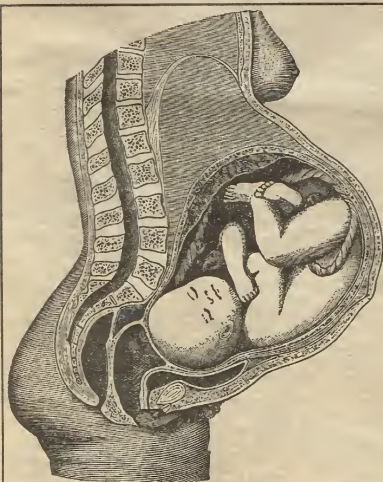


FIG. 49—Child shown in mother's body sectioned, at end of pregnancy—beginning of parturition.

materials to feed the Garrison State. Governments in Iran, Guatemala, Indonesia and Brazil, among others, had to be overthrown to protect the "Grand Area" from "internal aggression" (that is, from their own populations), and Indochina was militarily attacked for several decades to stem the tide of nationalist revolt and war against the landlords and corporate puppets until the region was effectively shattered socially and ecologically.

Nationalist independence and realignment was seen by foreign policy circles as a direct result of population pressure as far back as the early 1950's, and therefore as a priority for the U.S. policy establishment. The 1957 Ad Hoc Committee report "depicted population growth as a major threat to political stability both at home and abroad," writes Hartmann. By 1967, advertisements from the population control lobby (heavily financed and promoted by Dixie Cup magnate Hugh Moore), asserted, "The ever mounting tidal wave of humanity now challenges us to control it or be submerged along with all our civilized values," and, "A world with mass starvation in underdeveloped countries will be a world of chaos, riots and war. And a perfect breeding ground for Communism...We cannot afford a half dozen Vietnams or even one more...Our own national interest demands that we go all out to help the underdeveloped countries control their population."

Such control was always seen as a process of collaboration with local elites through military aid and the establishment of statified institutions for population control. In fact, the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) is presently the largest single funder of population activities in the Third World. Local revolts, as in Central America, were and are consistently blamed on population pressure rather than class war and domination. This explains vividly the contemporary configuration of the population establishment and its technocratic vision of population control linked to industrial development, urbanization and the world commodity market, exemplified by technocrats like former U.S. Secretary of Defense and head of the World Bank Robert McNamara. It also aptly reveals how the Reaganite position against abortion rights in the Third World, based on the absurd "cornucopia thesis" of consultants like Herbert Kahn (that denies any necessary limitations to population growth), is only an aberration in an overall global strategy, a sop to Reagan's right-wing, fundamentalist supporters inside the U.S. The anti-population control statement of the U.S. at the August 1984 Mexico City Conference on Population, in fact, was designed for domestic consumption, and "served to legitimize the position of the population establishment by casting them in the role of the defenders of reproductive rights," and masking their real role as institutions of authoritarian-statist control.

Authoritarian and Technocratic

The contemporary population control establishment is, indeed, a component of the same forces of plunder and oppression that have brought the world to the brink of an ecological and social abyss. Its focus is authoritarian and technocratic. It follows a "machine model" perspective of human reproductive decision-making and has a high tech preference for sterilization, IUD's, the pill and other risky forms of fertility control over traditional methods and barrier techniques. It avoids any discussion of the social context within which reproductive decisions are made

(or not made), defends the status quo of stratified, class societies and the capitalist market, and actually discourages an overall approach to women's and children's primary health as a central factor in population stabilization. Population bureaucrats deal with people in a purely instrumental fashion as

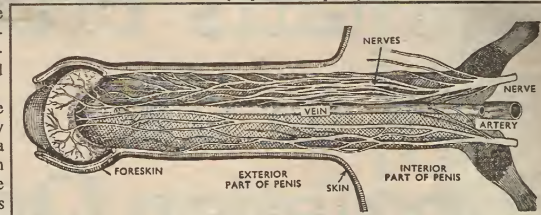


FIG. 19—Anatomy of penis.

statistics, and "incentive" programs are followed to sterilize as many people as possible, no matter what.

The ideology of population control is summed up by Hartmann as based on three tenets:

"1. Rapid population growth is a primary cause of the Third World's development problems, notably hunger, environmental destruction, economic stagnation, and political instability." Notice how for them, it is *development* itself (which means capital accumulation), and not environmental and human well being, which is the central concern. People are "units."

"2. People must be persuaded—or forced, if necessary—to have fewer children without fundamentally improving the impoverished conditions in which they live." To do so, of course, would demand agrarian and social revolution, which would undermine both the local elites and ultimately, perhaps, the entire development model of industrial-capitalist civilization.

"3. Given the right combination of finance, personnel, technology, and Western management techniques, birth control services can be 'delivered' to Third World women in a top-down fashion and in the absence of basic health care systems. In both the development and promotion of contraceptives, efficacy in preventing pregnancy should take precedence over health and safety concerns." One can see the entire operationalism of mass technology and the disabling professions at work in this assumption.

Underlying the entire population control ideology is the Malthusian orthodoxy, which argues that the earth has reached the limits of its carrying capacity due to excessive human numbers using resources excessively. The image of a dark-skinned woman far along in her pregnancy is supposed to bring to mind the source of the world's miseries. Hartmann does a good job of putting this orthodoxy into a proper perspective. Those who see the problem "as an inevitable race between man and nature" have a point, she writes. "No one wants a world of standing room only, where every bit of land, drop of water, and unit of energy is pressed into producing sustenance for an endlessly expanding human mass. Other species have a right to inhabit the earth, and our own quality of life is enhanced by respect for the natural environment. However, while limiting human numbers makes sense in the long run, it does not follow that in the short run overpopulation is the main cause of environmental depletion."

Yet it is not so much the population growth that puts pressure on the earth as it is "the consumption explosion in the industrialized world," she argues. "Moreover...many of the main ecological crimes being perpetrated on the earth" are caused by "unregulated and inappropriate patterns of technological development" rather than the population growth of peasants. Hartmann looks at the arguments of environmental destruction as an



outcome of population pressure and finds them seriously flawed.

Malthusian Fatalism

One example is the serious problem of deforestation, which according to the official view of the Indian government, for example, was caused primarily by population pressure. Yet when the Center for Science and the Environment in New Delhi investigated deforestation there, where millions of hectares of forest are disappearing annually, it found that private companies had "illegally felled huge sections of India's forests, at the same time as they were declared off limits to the local communities who have long depended on them for a livelihood. Meanwhile, 'official' forestry projects, aided by international agencies such as the World Bank, are encouraging the export of India's hardwoods and the destruction of mixed, ecologically sound forests in favor of monoculture plantations of pine, eucalyptus, and teak." The same process is going on throughout the Third World, as in Brazil, where corporations like Goodyear, Volkswagen, Nestle and Mitsubishi have stripped millions of acres of rainforest for lumber and cattle ranching. Dictator Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines "gave illegal logging concessions worth over a billion dollars to relatives and political cronies, depleting the country's forest reserves from 34.6 million acres in 1965, when Marcos took power, to only 5.4 million acres today."

Desertification, like deforestation, is largely a result of inequities on and exploitation of the land. A world land census in 1960 revealed that 2.5% of land-owners controlled 75% of arable land in the world, and the top 0.23% control over half. And where starvation ravaged the poor, those regions, as in the famished Sahel of Africa, actually increased agricultural exports. In Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta) in West Africa, Hartmann reports that cotton production increased twenty times since 1961, while staple crops like millet and sorghum remain at 1960 levels. The same situation is occurring in El Salvador, where 77% of the land faces accelerated erosion; most of the poor are marginalized on higher slopes, causing ecological damage, and the good lands are monopolized by the death squad oligarchy to raise exports like cotton, coffee, sugar and cattle. "In such a situation," she writes, "more people do mean more ecological destruction, since they are crowded into a limited land space. In this sense, rapid population growth is a factor in desertification, but to call it the primary cause is to simplify a much more complex process. El Salvador's peasants are putting pressure on marginal lands because they themselves have been made marginal by an agricultural system controlled by the rich."

She comes to the same conclusions as Lappe and Collins: "Despite the popular Western image of the Third World as a bottomless begging bowl," she observes, "it today gives more to the industrialized world than it takes. Inflows of official 'aid' and private loans and investments are exceeded by outflows in the form of repatriated profits, interest payments, and private capital sent abroad by Third World elites." According to one banking study, more than a third of the region's increase in borrowing between 1978 and 1983 was "spirited away overseas" by rich Latin Americans.

Yet the Malthusians do not ask why people are going hungry, why they lack livelihoods, why they are driven from their land. They do not consider the questions of land ownership, the history of colonialism, where social power lies. So when the poor demand their rights, the Malthusians see "political instability" growing from population pressure. "Their ideological fervor masks a profound fatalism: the poor are born to their lot, and the only way out for them is to stop being born." "Population control is substituted for social justice, and the problem is actually aggravated by the Malthusian 'cure.'" Family planning and health are subordinated to coercive and repressive population control, and millions of women are negatively affected.

Both the failures and the "successes" of authoritarian population control are explored at length by Hartmann. In Bangladesh, for example, "Spending on population control now absorbs over one third of the country's annual health budget, and its share is growing." Health care for mothers and children is being slashed to pay for population programs. Population control efforts are being accelerated as the quality of life deteriorates—landlessness, plummeting wages, decreasing food consumption. More than 60% of the population now has an inadequate diet. Amazingly, "Despite the millions of dollars flowing into the country for population control, women's unmet need for contraception is still not being met..." Whereas before village women were neglected by Bangladesh's family planning program, now they are the targets of an aggressive sterilization drive that uses incentives and intimidation to produce results. Meanwhile, access to safe and reversible methods of fertility control is still very limited." Sterilizations, for which a person might be paid a small sum and given some new clothes, "increase dramatically during the lean autumn months before the rice harvest, when many landless peasants are unemployed and destitute." The sterilization methods themselves are brutal and impersonal, and frequently lead to complications, illness and even death, since follow-up medical aid is unavailable.

Population Control as Genocide

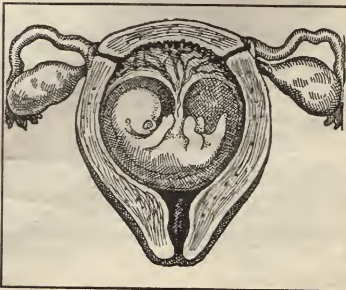
The genocidal character of population control is dizzying. Sterilization has been focussed at India's tribal minorities, though they are numerically small. In South Africa, population control is for blacks, while whites are rewarded for having children. The only free medical service for blacks is birth control. There, the argument is used widely that black "overpopulation" is putting pressure on the ecology of the region. In Puerto Rico, a U.S. colony ecologically devastated by U.S. corporate exploitation (and where mainland U.S. environmental laws do not apply), one third of the women were sterilized by 1968. Inside the U.S., Native American women have been the target of forced sterilization. China, which has recently been going through economic transformations along a Western development model, has implemented draconian anti-population measures, with forced abortions and sterilizations to impose a one-child-family policy. As new incentive programs along private capitalist lines have been implemented, Malthus has slipped in with them. Nevertheless,

interestingly, China's greatest strides in stabilizing population came before the one-child policy was instituted, according to Hartmann, and there has even been a slight population trend upward since the new policy, along with the privatization of lands, was implemented.

It should come as no surprise that this "profoundly technocratic exercise" should aggravate the problem and backfire. The notion that top-down techniques and "rational" education of the poor, administered by authoritarian, privileged elites over the "stupid peasants" who are their subjects, without reference to the social context of land ownership, social power, and health, is a scientific and mechanistic fantasy. But it is the strategy followed by most Third World states and Western population and family planning agencies. Kenya is considered one of the worst failures of such policy, yet it was the first African nation south of the Sahara to implement an official population control program, in 1967. By ignoring social and economic conditions, and focussing on population control rather than family planning and health, it was resisted by the people and now Kenya has one of the highest birth rates in the world. None of the sources of high fertility—high infant mortality, landlessness, lack of power, patriarchal domination—were addressed. One of the largest causes of high dropout rates in family planning was contraceptive side effects, yet riskier high tech methods were favored, and local custom and health devalued, so women did not respond.

The "machine model of family planning," based on efficiency models, incentives, and "target orientation," ends in outright coercion. In Indonesia, which is ruled by a right-wing dictatorship, "women are dragooned towards contraception as, once, they were doomed to uncontrolled fertility." Choice is actually limited to the worst techniques, and traditional methods and low tech methods demanding women's empowerment and participation as well as a focus on their health, are actively discriminated against. Even the military authorities have been directly involved, forcing IUD's on villagers at gunpoint. "The top-down approach toward birth control means it is not popularly perceived as a tool of reproductive choice," writes Hartmann almost euphemistically, "but as a means of social control." One can see this process backfiring as it did in Kenya and may be starting to do in China. Yet, "Indonesia has become the family planning showcase of the Third World."

Ironically, the women of the world want birth control. Hartmann discusses several studies, including a survey done in 27 Third World countries, that "found that almost half the married women questioned wanted no more children, and that younger women especially tended to desire a smaller family size." Women actually lack access to birth control and information. The 30 to 50 million induced abortions done a year—one half of them illegal—also suggest that women want birth control. (In Latin America, up to one half of all maternal deaths are due to illegal abortions.)



An Expansion of Rights

Yet the Malthusians have the problem backwards, she argues. "The solution to the population problem lies not in the diminution of rights, but in their *expansion*. This is because the population problem is not really about a surplus of human numbers, but a lack of basic human rights." One of the main reasons for high birthrates is a total lack of security, which means that people gamble on having large families, particularly sons, with their old age, illness, and economic dislocation in mind. High infant mortality rates are also a cause of high fertility. One would think, as do many contemporary Malthusians, "that reductions of infant mortality would actually *increase* the rate of population growth, since there would be more surviving children to grow up into fertile adults." (One AID bureaucrat even argued that primary health care programs should be discouraged, since they might aggravate the population problem by lowering death rates.) "Experience has shown," Hartmann asserts, "that once mortality rates fall to around 15 per 1000 people per year, the average for the Third World today, each further decline in the mortality rate is generally accompanied by an even greater decline in the birth rate, as people adjust their fertility to improved survival possibilities." High birth rates flow directly from high infant mortality rates, and the latter are "primarily caused by poor nutrition, both of the mother and the child." Nutrition is crucial, even more than primary health care itself, since it underlies the whole chain of causes of infant mortality, from unhealthy mothers to low birth weight to poor breast milk. Paradoxically, what one United Nations official has called a "survival revolution" halving the infant and child mortality rate and preventing the deaths of six or seven million infants each year by the end of the century, could also prevent between 12 and 20 million births annually. Hartmann remarks, "To date no country has achieved a low birth rate as long as it has had a high infant mortality rate."

In countries like Sri Lanka, Cuba and the Indian state of Kerala, where the birth rates have been dramatically lowered, it is not so much that industrial development, measured in terms of increased energy consumption and personal income per capita, has improved the standard of living, but that basic nutrition and access to primary health care and reproductive choice have been emphasized. Ironically, if the Malthusians have their way and health and nutrition in the Third World are allowed to decline even further as the Malthusian "checks" take their toll, the population explosion will only be exacerbated. By ideologizing the population question to the detriment of social critique, they work to promote the very scenario they claim to fear most.

The question, of course, goes beyond population control and family planning. Women's reproductive choice depends on their role in society as a whole, and their lack of choice is directly linked to their lack of autonomy and personhood as well as to their economic domination. Women are invisible in official labor statistics, but research shows that "women produce almost half the food crops grown in the world. In Africa women contribute two thirds of all hours spent in traditional agriculture and three fifths of the time spent in marketing. In Asia, they constitute over half the agricultural labor force; in Latin America at least 40 per cent." Modernization,

of course, has worsened women's lot. Commercial farming has favored men at every level, and industrialization only doubles women's workload. Today 80 to 90% of low-skilled assembly jobs in the Third World are held by women.

Women's freedom and well-being is at the center of the resolution to the population problem, and that can only be faced within the larger social context. Even health and family planning programs will not suffice if they are implemented from above and administered as a technological procedure. If primary health care is to be effectively used, it must take place within "fundamental power struggles," which means real participation in social decision-making, real health concerns, access to land, and the overthrow of patriarchal domination. "There is no intrinsic reason why women's health and safety have to be sacrificed to contraceptive efficacy or why freedom of choice has to be subordinated to population control," writes Hartmann. "If there is to be a second contraceptive revolution, let it start with a revolution in values."



Personal, Political, Planetary

What would be the focus of such values? Woman must be at the center of concern—her autonomy and her well-being and the well-being of her children, within the larger social context of access to land and participation in society. If the origins of hierarchy and domination as well as humanity's anguished cleft with the natural world are to be found in woman's primordial enslavement and the institutionalization of patriarchy, then the necessity of her liberation is an elegant testimonial to the working out of an historical dialectic, a return to origins, a completion of a cycle. This can only come about by abolishing the structures of domination which are globally undermining women's freedom and health and leading the planet to catastrophe. The political, the personal and the planetary all find expression in this process of liberation.

Some criticisms can be made of Hartmann's book. She appears at times to be impressed with industrial growth as a solution to the problem of domination and hunger. She is also too willing to make use of arguments against Malthusianism that depend on industrial and technological models of development that only beg the question of carrying capacity. One need not repeat the arguments of some historians that population growth is the cause of improvements in conditions; it only legitimates industrialism and its destruction of vernacular societies while evading the central question of massive population growth as a result of the disruption of traditional societies and natural economies. The discussion of Africa is an example, in which she argues that Africa was to some degree *depopulated* by the slave trade, and while it was 20% of the world's population in the eighteenth century, by the year 2000 it will be less than 13%. These figures are meaningless. The slave trade had little or no effect at all on numbers in Africa, as any population atlas will attest, except to

disrupt the local societies enough to cause further population growth. Africa is not in need of more hands to promote development. And Africa needs, for its long-term health and biotic diversity, to leave most of its uncultivated lands as they are. If the population question is an ongoing process of enquiry, Hartmann should go on to explore a critique of industrialism, technological development, the disempowerment and commoditization of human communities, and the creation of mass society. A revolution in values demands a critique of industrial civilization and an attempt to live in harmony with the natural integrity of the planet, not mass industrial complexes to build tractors or produce chemical fertilizers.

This is not the focus of Hartmann's book; it is, rather, the question of women's reproductive rights as a central factor in their human rights, as integral to the entire project of social transformation and human freedom. Her devastating critique of authoritarian, technocratic population control suggests a deeper critique of modern technological civilization, rationalization and modernization, even if it is beyond the scope of the book to explore those themes further. Perhaps it is beyond any single book to provide such a critique. Readers can do that on their own by sifting through a whole body of literature and personal experience. Nevertheless, Hartmann has made an extremely valuable contribution to the critique of Malthusian ideology and has added important insights

by linking the resolution of the population problem and the ecological crisis to the project of human liberation—for that she deserves our praise and gratitude.

—George Bradford



The pages concerning deep ecology and the population discussion were typeset, proofread and laid-out by our friend and collaborator in San Francisco, Freddie Baer, with assistance from Daniel G. Our thanks and admiration for their fine work, especially for Freddie's creative and incisive selection and design of the graphics. Our SF collaborators can be contacted at P.O. Box 410151, SF CA 94141-0151.

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even boast of these deeds; and nobody among us opposes this despicable inclination." Chomsky (again in *The Fateful Triangle*, 1983) refers to articles in *Nekudah*, the journal of the West Bank settlers, which states openly that it is mistaken for Jews to adopt a "humanistic" attitude towards the Arabs, that, according to the Talmud, God regretted creating the Ishmaelites (from whom Arabs are supposedly descended). The journal states, according to Maimonides (a medieval Spanish-Hebrew philosopher), that conquered people must "serve their conquerors." They must be "degraded and low" and must not "raise their heads in Israel but be conquered beneath their [the conquerers'] hand with complete submission." The journal emphasizes that there is no relationship whatsoever between the laws of Israel and "atheistic modern humanism." Such facts have been cleverly hidden or twisted, and the abuse has been allowed to continue by a religious and political system which grants the abusers almost total immunity.

Rock-Throwing Youths From the Beginning

There have been rock-throwing youths from the very beginning. Settlers have, over the years, told countless stories of catching Arab boys that throw stones, of beating them up and then turning them over to the army or police for further abuse. An arm or a leg is sometimes broken in "retaliation" for the stone-throwing. Many have been shot by settlers who claim they were only shooting into the air. Chomsky mentions a common joke from the occupied lands, that "Arabs should stop flying and begin walking on the ground so they won't be shot so often when settlers shoot into the air."

Young Arabs have always been the targets of Israeli retaliation because they are the ones who fight back, throw stones, burn tires, demonstrate and protest openly and defiantly. During a tour of Lebanon in 1977, an eyewitness, standing in a street in the West Bank, reported "watching Palestinian school girls in blue checkered pinafores build a roadblock to halt the soldiers who constantly patrol the troubled West Bank. The schoolgirls are eleven and twelve years old. It is common for children to participate in and even lead demonstrations, and they will be arrested and fined heavily if caught." (Published in *Our Roots Are Still Alive*, Palestinian Book Project, 1981.)

قهر. ظنر علی. غلب. دوق
 Conqueror قاهر. فاتح.
 فتح. غلبة. اخضاع ه امتلاك
 Conquest

Countless Palestinians have been moved forcibly out of their homes and into camps over the years, and those that refuse are attacked. The retaliatory measures used by the Israeli state and its settlers against Palestinian defiance has always been outlandishly disproportionate to the original "offense." Such retaliation is used against people not only for acts of war, which the

Israelis label "terrorism," but for all acts of resistance.

According to *The Other Israel* (Nov.-Dec. 1987), the homes of people accused of "terrorist" activities, decreed as such by a military governor without a trial, are routinely demolished. In a recent incident reported in the above publication, after several Palestinian prisoners were shot and killed "while trying to escape," Israeli hardliners insisted on demolishing the homes of their families while some officials feared that such measures would cause riots. The hardliners won, and "at the end of October the houses were destroyed, leaving the families homeless. Several days of widespread rioting did follow." This incident is considered by many to be the spark for the present revolt.

Recent reports also speak of the overcrowded and inhumane conditions of Israeli prisons, but again, these conditions are not new. Numerous extensive reports exist on the torture of Arab prisoners, but little or nothing on this issue has been made widely available in the U.S. Chomsky speaks of one "unusually careful study" by the *London Sunday Times* Insight Team in 1977. After a thorough investigation, the team found "evidence of torture so widespread and systematic that 'it appeared to be sanctioned at some level as deliberate policy,' perhaps 'to persuade Arabs in occupied territories that it is least painful to behave passively.'" This study was offered to both the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* but was rejected.

When Amnesty International suggested that the surprisingly high number of confessions by Arab prisoners might be an indication of inhumane treatment in Israeli jails, the Israeli Supreme Court Justice claimed that it takes very little time for Arabs to confess after they are arrested, and that it is "part of their nature" to do so. Chomsky conjectures that this "genetic defect" of Arabs must be contagious because there have since been an unusually high number of Jewish prisoners who are also confessing to crimes they did not commit after being forced to submit to Israeli police interrogation. Treatment of Arab political prisoners is particularly shocking. Chomsky states that in 1983 at least "200,000 security prisoners and detainees have passed through Israeli jails, almost 20% of the population."

A "Public Relations Problem"

Suddenly there are reports in the daily press and televised incidents of Israeli soldiers beating and shooting Palestinian demonstrators. Soldiers claim that they have been ordered by their superiors to "club

warning you, I don't want to see you again tonight. Get out of here quick."

There are reports of complaints by Israeli soldiers that they resent having to function as police instead of military personnel.

The tendency again is to assume that all these tactics, all this mistreatment has been brought about by the recent rioting, that the Israeli government and military have been put into an awkward and embarrassing predicament because of these immediate, difficult circumstances. In an interview with national news media, Morris B. Abram, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, called it "a real PR problem," and went on to defend Israel's "right and responsibility to protect the security of its people and the integrity of its institutions." Certainly it is a public relations problem for Israel because the repressive tactics of its occupying army and its settler vigilantes are getting press in this country when they never did before.

For example, in 1982 the pressure of the Israeli Peace Now movement forced an investigation into the mistreatment of Arab townspeople at the hands of Israeli soldiers. According to Chomsky, the investigation led to a military trial which produced irrefutable evidence of methodical brutality against local townspeople in the spring of 1982. In his testimony, the deputy military governor of Hebron, Major David Mofaz, stated that "Israeli soldiers were given orders to harass and beat up Palestinian residents." Mofaz was certain these orders came from the top, from the Chief of Staff, and was himself "personally ordered to beat up Arabs by the West Bank military commander." He stated further that "the army had orders to harass the West Bank population, not just those involved in anti-Israeli demonstrations." The trial also heard evidence that then Defense Minister (now Minister of Trade), Ariel Sharon had not only encouraged Israeli soldiers to beat up school children but that, in giving instructions to the soldiers in the West Bank for dealing with the Arab protestors, he had told them to "cut off their testicles." Sharon reportedly stated in these sessions that "the only good Arab is a dead Arab."

The defense claimed that the orders for the brutal treatment of residents were given by Chief of Staff Eitan, who, when called to testify, acknowledged ordering most of these punishments (expulsions, detentions, the creation of exile camps that lacked the required conditions of regular prisons, retaliation against those who resisted the demands of the soldiers), but he insisted that such measures were necessary for the maintenance of order.

Chomsky, referring to reports from the trials published in the Hebrew press, states that "apart from beatings, Arab detainees' and civilians' charges included forcing people to crawl on all fours and bark like dogs, laud Begin and border guards... slap one another (children were ordered to slap their parents)... Major Mofaz ordered soldiers to write numbers on arms of prisoners on the Day of the Holocaust, but the military accepted his defense that this order was only given in jest (though it was carried out)."

In the outcome of the trial, four soldiers were sentenced to several months in prison, but Eitan's orders were ruled to be legal. Major Mofaz's lawyers claimed that he, along with other accused officers, "were merely following the orders and

guidelines laid down by their superiors."

A License to Kill

The historical irony here is uncanny and has been pointed out by Jews and Palestinians alike. The Jewish Holocaust becomes the justification for the Zionist oppression of another people; the oppressed become the oppressors, the victims the victimizers. As Fredy Perlman writes in his essay, *Anti-Semitism and the Beirut Pogrom* (1982), "it's as if the experience of being a victim gave exemption from human solidarity, as if it gave special powers, as if it gave a license to kill." And Zionists, with the massacres against the Jews still in living memory, commit in turn a new wave of atrocities against the Palestinians, using the same defense that Nazi war criminals used in the Nuremberg trials—that they were only following orders.

شَير. ذمة. طوئة

Conscience

One wonders where the Palestinian rage for so many years of humiliation will focus itself in years to come if this terrible cycle continues. Who will be the victims of these victims? Who will be the target of their revenge? Although many voices in the Palestinian nationalist movement have, from the beginning, insisted on a clearly anti-Zionist position which rejects racist attitudes against Jews and other groups, the present reality is that many Palestinians are finding strength and solace in the growing Islamic fundamentalist movement, a movement which, like Zionism, mixes religious purity and fanaticism with a kind of racial and nationalistic superiority.

Of course, Israel is itself a theocratic fundamentalist state whose deliberate acts of terror against the indigenous Palestinian population have engendered a similar mentality among certain Moslem sects. The Israeli state is based on a racist pretext and on a religious and political rigidity which demands the passive obsequiousness of its conquered Arab peoples. The Islamic fundamentalist response should come as no surprise. What should surprise some, however, especially traditional apologists for the Zionist state, is that over the years Israel has purposefully encouraged and colluded with certain right-wing Islamic sects in an effort to destroy the secular influence of the PLO. With a conscious belief in the effectiveness of the tactic of divide and conquer, Israel has made links and conspired with fundamentalist Islamic groups as well as with right-wing Christian phalangists both in Palestine and in Lebanon.

Correspondingly, while the Israeli state becomes faced with the prospect of political compromise in an attempt to regain its control over an impossible situation as well as to appease its U.S. supporters and its own peace activists, reactionary Jewish fundamentalism continues to thrive. The American Rabbi Meir Kahane's Kach party and the mystical messianic movement Gush Emunim (which was the guiding force behind the West Bank settlement drive) have created their own cast of Khomeinism—one that

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May Days '37

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the time. Another careful account, but with richer independent documentation, comes from Burnett Bolloten's *The Spanish Revolution: The Left and the Struggle for Power during the Civil War* (1979). Emma Goldman's description of the persecution of Spanish revolutionaries was derived from her trip to Spain in late 1937 (it was reprinted recently in my compilation of her Spanish writings, *Vision on Fire*, 1983). Vernon Richards' useful remarks, in turn, are comparable to those found in his own valuable *Lessons of the Spanish Revolution* (rev. ed., 1983).

Direct Experience in Spain

An important advantage of the four major contributions is that all are written on the basis of direct experience in Spain at the time—Peirats, Souchy and Goldman as anarchist militants and Bolloten as an unusually careful, astute and sympathetic journalist for UPI. In compact, readable form, the book thus gives voice to authentic observers with perspectives then and now largely ignored by the dominant conservative, liberal and state-socialist press.

If the course of the huge, 1930's Spanish movement was doomed from the start, in the face of all the factors discussed above, how can today's comrades find a sense of direction in such a tradition? What can we learn from this book and from the Spanish experience in general?

If the old contexts and practices of street barricades no longer seem serious or viable possibilities in much of the world, the lessons of the slippery road of collaborationism seem eternal. How many of us are tempted, for all the pragmatic reasons of crisis or simple expedience, "temporarily" to ally our-



selves with cultural or political forces or principles whose suppositions and end-goals obviously contradict our own? However more subtle and unspectacular the dynamics, can we truly see a different pattern at work than that which revealed itself so dramatically in Spain?

Temptations of Hierarchical Power

The events of May 1937 were the culmination of a process in which numerous anarchist "influentials" became unconsciously addicted (some temporarily, some permanently) to the temptations of hierarchical power. Once accepting such a condition, the only way an anarchist can then preserve a sense of personal ideals is to work toward some piece of "lesser-of-evils" reform. But the eventual reform never occurs without yet greater compromise. The downward spiral most often continues until the anarchist becomes identical to hierarchical social reformers.

Demoralization, cynicism and apathy naturally follow. In all of this, the power addict may "mean well," but be totally fooled as to the real outcome—especially when actively flattered by others far more skilled in the realities of such a world. When others threaten to withdraw the power fix (thus threatening "the coalition," "respectability," "acceptance" by authorities, or simply one's sense of escape), deeper and deeper complicity are the only response. Eventually, even

the anarchist pretense is lost.

At least the beginnings of this dynamic played a significant role in the events of May 1937. Eventually, it led some "influentials" not awakened by the May outcome to tolerate even the imprisonment of anarchist militants and conscription for the front by the CNT late in the war. To comprehend this pattern is reason enough to read and re-read the tragic accounts in this book.

Despite the crisis atmosphere which encouraged compromise and collaboration, there persisted the revolutionary energy, the commitment to an ideal, and the fierce determination to struggle for freedom amidst hellish alternatives. Such passionate energies typified the thousands of anarchists who fought the fascists, who defiantly stood up against the Communists and other statists in the first days of May 1937 (as well as before and after), and who struggled on in their daily collective experiments. There was a level of energy, commitment and generous solidarity in the Spanish context which defies our own experience and serves as a model for whatever we are part of in the future. Balancing the tragedy and the greatness together, from an anarchist perspective, at least one important lesson from Spain is that there is never "victory" as such. The best we may hope for is a commendable and fully human attempt to make every present context as qualitatively free as we can.

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has often spearheaded official Israeli policy through its violent actions, and articulates the true desires and intentions of the Israeli state when its politicians are forced (in order to avoid "public relations problems") to maintain a facade of relative moderation.

The U.S. is intricately intertwined in these extreme right-wing movements in Israel. As a recent article in the *Nation* (1/16/88) explains, many of the members of these two groups are American Jewish immigrants. The racist Kahane, who presently has a seat in the Israeli Knesset, raises money for his party in the U.S. and has a following among American Jewish youths.

So again the Holocaust provides justification for untold horrors, and the cycle of revenge continues.

Armageddon is Well Located

Kahane's version of security is a pathetic illusion as the violent history of this settler state attests. Such a nation, "hated by the world," creates more and more enemies and multiplies the threats to its existence. We should not expect the present unrest to abate in the near future for this cycle of conflict and oppression has been turning for over twenty years now. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to envision a resolution of the Arab/Israeli dispute taking place within Israel/Palestine, the eye of the storm, especially when one considers the deep-seated intransigence of the Israeli state and its long history of violent and repressive pol-

ities (i.e., displacement of the indigenous inhabitants, destruction of their homes and livelihood) was, by some Orwellian logic, meant to neutralize the hostility of the Arabs, when in reality their forced expropriation was part of an organized, long-range plan of Israeli colonial expansion and conquest.

But in a very short time, the fury of Israeli settlement and domination has created a threatening and explosive situation of "inter-dependence," one that is presently at least as foreboding for the state of Israel as it is for the occupants of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, many of whom could not be much more impoverished or imprisoned. The West Bank is economically bound both to Jordan and to Israel, but more and more to Israel which depends on the West Bank for the sale of 25% of its exports. According to Yusuf A. Sayigh (*Journal of Palestine Studies*, Summer, 1986) 90% of West Bank and Gaza imports come from Israel; they are the second largest importer of Israeli goods (the U.S. being first) because of Israeli policies which deliberately curtail the development of Palestinian business, making it virtually impossible for Arab importers to buy from other countries. The controlled economies of these areas are thus termed "captive markets" for Israeli goods. West Bank and Gaza businesses receive no protection from Israeli imports, no government credit or investments, but they do have to pay taxes to the state of Israel which realizes a net profit of 30% on them. Palestinians in large numbers from the occupied territories have quickly filled the ranks of Israel's cheap labor force; this phenomenon of migrant labor has dangerously increased the racial tension between them and many oriental Jews who despise the Arabs for usurping their

jobs by agreeing to work for pitifully low slave wages, as much as 75% less than Israelis in similar jobs. Some 50,000 Palestinians are trucked into Israel each day from Gaza, returning at night to their villages and camps in true South African bantustan style. The West Bank and Gaza are an economic boon for Israel yet, by the same token, Arab businessmen and laborers potentially hold Israel's economic destiny in their hands.

An even darker, more ominous side of the region's economic reality is its unmitigated dependence on the business of war. As a U.S. client/garrison state, Israel is inherently bound to this world power's permanent war economy. For years it has turned a profit by supplying weapons to repressive dictatorships that formerly did business with the U.S. (Guatemala, South Africa). It then comes as no surprise that Israel has employed, for so many years, similar repressive practices domestically or that it is utterly dependent on its own weapons industry both in a material sense—to control the population in the occupied territories—and in an economic sense for the maintenance of the financial base of its major institutions. The increasingly unstable Israeli state has become totally politically and economically dependent, for its very existence and survival, on its expansionist program and the material demands of its repressive policies.

Such an entity can only speak the characteristic language of power and domination, attempting always to negate the genuine strength of its opposition in a maze of absurd logic. Thus Israeli spokesmen denied and continue to deny the widespread and spontaneous element of the riots, attributing them instead to the organized spark of outside agitators.

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قِسْمَةٌ. نَصِيبٌ. قَضَاءٌ وَقَدَرٌ
مُسْلِقٌ. عَدِيمٌ || جَرْدَةٌ (من /)
أَنْتَفَ. أَهْلَكَ * خَرَّبَ * أَفْنَى
Destitute
Destroy

A recent *New York Times* carried Kahane's quarter page advertisement entitled "No Jewish Guilt" (2/2/88) which rails against American Jews who are giving in to feelings of guilt over the recent events in the occupied territories. He calls for the removal of all Arabs from these lands, as always denying the very existence of the Palestinian people, and telling Jews, "let us not fear the world. Far better a Jewish state that survives and is hated by the world, than an Aushwitz that brings us its love and sympathy."

icies which have served to foment and disseminate Arab and particularly Palestinian outrage and resentment. As Chomsky says, "Armageddon is well located."

Israel appears to have no intention of ever rescinding its hold on the occupied territories. The original pretext for encroaching into these areas was, officially and publicly, military security, which is the same pretext used again and again for its incursions into southern Lebanon (occasionally sardonically referred to as the "North Bank"). Settlement of these

Letters to the Fifth Estate

Dear E.B. Maple:

As a writer who is often criticized for being too difficult, academic or stylistic, I was immensely heartened by your response to London Greenpeace's letter (see FE Summer 1987) taking you all to task for those sins. I'd like to add a few points.

In England, "style" has certain class connotations; style is withheld from the underclass deliberately, & reserved for the literati who are almost without exception middle-to-upper-class. Therefore, among radicals (from the "plain"-speaking Quakers on) a distrust has arisen, a disgust for elegance (whether in the science-sense of "accurate & inspired" or in the aesthetic sense of "useless" beauty).

I see the Greenpeace objection to your style as emanating from a radical tradition which also produced Puritanism... & in fact, is still producing puritanism. In America the lines are not so clearly drawn, & I feel that you may have missed the unspoken classist criticism leveled at you by the London comrades.

You might have added that it behooves radicals to refuse impoverished language foisted off onto the "poor" by the "powerful," to seize back all eloquence & beautiful speech from those who have attempted its monopoly. You might have said, first, that "academic" language is often necessary to discuss certain specific & difficult things without endless rewording & dilution with "commonplace" ideas. Then you could have added that commonplace language is, after all, generally debased with the cheap alloy of popular sentiment, that it is "loaded" with mind-numbing signals, that it is most often used to keep "common" people from thinking with any precision or with any direct emotional power.

In fact, "common" people frequently invent closed languages of great potency, directness & grace, in which "even" the uneducated can express themselves with the potency of old-time bards; I'm thinking here, for instance, of the argot of black jazz musicians in the '20s: a difficult, even arcane language, highly intellectual, but impeccably proletarian! Beauty of language, i.e., "style," cannot be escaped if one is to communicate anything directly with "mere" words; only poetry (in the broadest sense of the term) can convey precise meanings with something of the force of a kiss or a punch in the snout.

By contrast, commonplace language can convey only "common" ideas—by which I mean ideas that have already & long since been betrayed into moronic sleepiness, ideas which might once have been full of life but are now reduced to shells—full of banal stuffing, predigested pap, officialese, Newspeak, jargon, packaged emotions... ideas which smell like rotten television. I can scarcely believe anarchy

will be served by making it "commonplace"—that is, boring—rather than unique, explosive, sexy, saturated with light.

The notion that art or culture fit for the "masses" should be bovine, monosyllabic, gray, pietistic, blahblah... this is a marxist idea, not an anarchist idea. I admit NO "common" denominator, I will not talk down to anyone, I must say exactly what I mean in as few words as possible (like a victim tied to the stake & signalling thru the flames, as Artaud said) because otherwise what is the point of writing at all?

Proletcult is for no one (except possibly the devotee of prolet-camp); the real audience for Socialist Realism lives only in a statistic, not at any real address. "Only as a band of armed poets can we overcome the fascism of everyday life" (Patio Table). It's not a question of caring about "dada" or any other gawdforsaken DEAD Art movement; but I hate to see people preening themselves on their anti-intellectualism, as if mere ignorance were a sign of divine favor or political correctness.

If Greenpeace (London) has brains they should be ravished with joy to use them, not withered with quakerish embarrassment. Language in the mouth of an insurrectionist could be stronger than music, a way to BREATHE; the tongue of the "commonplace" will never transcend mere prose, & it will stifle us.

wa salaam,
Hakim Bey
c/o Autonomedia
Box 568
Brooklyn NY 11211

E.B. Responds: I appreciate your remarks; all I have to add is the following proviso contained in the introduction to Mary Daly's powerful book, *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism*: "Warning: This book contains Big Words... for it is written for big, strong women, out of respect for strength. Moreover, I've made some of them up. Therefore, it may be a stumbling block... to those who choose downward mobility of the mind and therefore hate Big Words..."

Nothing to Lose

FE Note: As we note on our subscription blanks, an extra dollar pays for half of a prisoner's subscription. Prisons succinctly embody the state's ultimate dictum: obey or suffer the consequences.

Below is a letter from one recipient of an FE prisoner subscription.

Fifth Estate:

I am a prisoner at Washington State Penitentiary. My sentence here is life, and then I owe Oregon 25 years.

I was born an anarchist. And now I really have nothing to lose.

At the moment I'm in the hole, for splashing urine into the face of Correctional Officer J. Like it's my fault he doesn't like organic after shave.

Anyway, please put me on your mailing list. And because I get along above average with other convicts here, I can share the FE and can spread what you want spread. You already spread what I want spread, but please spread some this way, OK?

Phil Scalise 278901
PO Box 520 F11 IMU
Walla Walla WA 99362

No Emancipation

To the Fifth Estate:

This is to notify our beloved compatriots that the process of time finds the Anarchist Association of the Americas and its publication, *Emancipation*, in a condition of non-existence. The organization is disbanded and the Washington DC mailbox has been closed.

We wish to express our thanks to all the fine sisters and brothers of anarchism who have worked with us in our nine years of existence. It has been the best of times and we have no regrets.

As individuals we are not out of the action. You will be seeing us again in other connections. Thanks for the memories.

B,
for the late, great *Emancipation*
Collective

Race & Crime I

Dear FE:

Your article, "Race, Class and Crime in the U.S." (Summer FE 1987), reminded me of other recent attacks, and raised a few questions for me. The case that rests most heavily on my mind is one in Howard Beach, where white youths chased blacks passing through the neighborhood with baseball bats onto a parkway where one was killed by a car.

It happened near my neighborhood and is an example of the violence that goes on all the time around here. I listened to the interviews done in the neighborhood, interviews that astonished many in our city. The denials were abundant; there was no racism there. We found out that people felt that blacks could walk safely in white areas, but not vice-versa. If blacks were in white neighborhoods, they were up to no good, and people, in general, were scared.

After the Howard Beach incident, I walked down Jamaica Ave., where there are often no non-blacks. The area was

policed by several hundred white cops who told me that it was too dangerous to walk around, to go home. Within the next two weeks there were many cases of retaliation by blacks, three of which I was present at. In one circumstance, I was able to talk to people about the senselessness of these attacks, but found that the anger just ran too deep.

As a person who advocates the appropriation and expropriation of property, I see two clear problems: the large, expensive stores and the rich people have made it difficult to steal from them, and burglary becomes easiest done in a confrontational manner which often includes violence. The targets for theft then become those who can't buy security.

The biggest argument that people have against anarchy is that without a state, and its protectors, there will be crime; the sick people won't go away. The people who say that when you eliminate poverty and economic classes, crime will go away, aren't thinking. We'll also need to eliminate sexism, racism, and most importantly, the self-hatred that's the result of mediocre lives.

As far as protection for me, everytime I was in danger, I had to find ways of protecting myself. The anarchist idea of forming groups to protect people was proposed to me although practically people don't want to do it. And more than protecting the victims, how are we going to help the criminals in the here and now? I'd appreciate any ideas that can actually be tried and will share them with other people I know.

Laure A.
Box 1425
NY NY 10009

Race & Crime II

Dear Fifth Estate Crew:

I devoured your Summer 1987 issue and found most of it palatable except for the "Race, Class & Crime in the U.S." article. The tone of it seemed defensive, white and middle-class, perhaps that of



one who has consciously chosen to forego the privileges of race and class to live among his or her black brothers and sisters.

I hold strongly to the view that the "personal is political" and based upon the statements that the author has been robbed upon occasion lends some credence to his/her statement that Goetz' not guilty verdict was seen "as victory and not, at best, simply vindication (of) the right of self-defense." This takes the view by implication that Goetz was justified in his assault and that perhaps an attitude reflecting some sort of correct line for anarchists towards the youths since after all they are "terrifying young hoodlums."

Even though the attitude is encapsulated in a liberal social history lesson of "the valiant efforts of black people to live a life of dignity... in America," what prevails is that this is one of the "haves" who has "seethed with hatred for those who had violated my home." Perhaps correct line is too strong a wording, but as one who has lived for the past five years in the mixed race neighborhoods of San Francisco, and has been active in the formation of Rock Against Racism with black friends, I find the "fear for my life" and expression of rage to be more representative of someone who wishes these hoodlums would get theirs, perhaps they could all be lined up and shot as some of my more conservative relatives say.

In an area suffering from a total breakdown of institutions such as in Detroit, the outlaw approach is what is to be expected from youth whom the system has no need to integrate into its apparatus. Brutal humans are responding to a brutal and desperate situation in a logical and, under the circumstances, perfectly normal manner and to quote Leni Brenner about the poor habits of the poor is pure condescension.

The poor have developed many ingenious ways to survive that a rereading of the *Autobiography of Malcolm X* or even Hobsbawm's *Primitive Rebels* might remind the author. This sad replay of the fears of the propertied at the actions of the savages who are certainly restless and wishing that they "emerge as revolutionaries committed to the destruction of the system" is redundant in the extreme. They are already participating in the destruction of the system.

It may be uncomfortable for the persons who may be innocent bystanders in this process, or wish that these "hoodlums" would get jobs and become alienated and read exotic French authors in bad English translation and then participate in the civilized revolution implied in the article. These tough youths, who form the backbone of the criminal class and the military, are the ones who are mostly likely to rebel.

My own suggestions have to do with the necessary legwork and people contact with these young hoodlums where they can be reached. The creation of multicultural centers via an updated and more successful Rock Against Racism with people dedicated to making it work could help. Time out has to be made for people to step out of roles into reality and the paranoia machine must not be fed for that is exactly what they want.

In the Bible, the Hebrews had marks on their doors so that when the plagues descended upon the Egyptians, they

would be spared. In the present day we have no marks on our doors, these black avenging angels have no way of knowing who you are unless you act in a manner that speaks for itself.

Gary Rumor
Huntington CT

E.B. Maple responds: Your last comment reminds me of a cartoon I once saw where a white couple is being held at gunpoint by a young black and while the man fumbles through his wallet, the woman is saying, "John, he doesn't want to see your NAACP card; he wants your money!"

These "angels" may be what a vile society like this deserves for its history of racism and its class structure, but you are naive in the extreme to think their "justice" can be avoided by the wearing of a Rock Against Racism pin or other acts of grace. While instances of Robin Hood exploits exist, they are the vast exception and, in reality, all, including the similarly situated poor, are fair game for those who react to the deprivations of capitalist society with rage and crime.

You have so totally mis-read what I had intended to convey in my article that I have to say that either my writing skill or your reading comprehension ability is a severe problem. I said very specifically that the wave of violence and crime experienced by the inner cities was directly caused by the nature of a pitiless class system magnified by racism, and that the deterioration of life in general for blacks was producing only what should be expected under such conditions.

As people with relative privilege, which is both coveted and resented, neither you nor I should be surprised when we are the targets of crime. However, you are to be nominated for sainthood if you let this social realization rise above your emotions in a situation where a 77-year-old widow you know or you are the victim.

It is ridiculous that I should have to state that I have no sympathy for a robot like Goetz when I used him as the prototype of those who benefit from a heavily disproportionate income distribution and who want to do so without having to pay its social costs, i.e., crime and social dislocation. To state that black and other poor youth are reacting to a "brutal and desperate situation" says nothing more than what I had already said, but you seem to be willing to use it as an excuse—exactly what I refused to do. Your poetic, but thoroughly unrealistic description of them as "avenging angels" seems more of a condescension than Brenner's remark, whose point you also missed (he was saying the same thing as you).

I think your elegant little phrase to describe these violent "angels" would meet with more than a little resistance from those in a community like Detroit plagued by crack houses, rip-offs, assaults, rapes and the shootings of hundreds of teen-agers. White rooting sections for black crime always leave a bad taste in my mouth since it rarely is they who have to suffer the consequences of the "avenging" acts.

It has been fashionable over the last decade or so among certain anarchists and ultra-left theorists to see crime, vandalism and riots as containing the seeds of revolt given their obvious quality of transgressing society's rules (presented most coher-

ently by the chroniclers of the extensive English riots of the '80s, Os Cangaceiros in France, and John Zerzan in the United States"). While certainly it is all activity at variance with the model of a smooth running system, it seems a mistake to see individual crimes of the type which are rampant in the U.S. as having the same character as the mass confrontations with official authority such as have occurred in England.

ethic and challenges to the dominance of capital, whether at home or abroad, are met with a violence which makes all street crime pale in comparison.

The real criminals are the rulers—one politician like Reagan or the president of General Motors presides over more social disruption, theft, torture, murder and mayhem than all of the thugs in the country combined. Smug middle-class suburbanites aghast at inner-city crime ignore



graphic/Stephen Goodfellow

Individual criminal acts can be romanticized, but authentic acts of rebellion should transcend the limits of capitalist strictures. Most crime in the States exists only as an innovative way to participate in the circulation of capital, that is, outside the "normal" manner of wage work for those to whom it is systematically denied. For instance, stolen goods may provide cash for drugs, commodities which imitate the styles of the bourgeoisie or even food, but the act of theft does not contradict the nature of an act compatible with capitalist relations.

To remain only as an outlaw, to not be consciously involved in the revolutionary deconstruction of capital means that eventually those outside the law will be ignored (letting the inner cities rot even more while other areas flourish), be absorbed if the economy takes an upswing (ha!), or be crushed by an expanded police/military apparatus. Often, too, a rage against society based only on feelings of hatred and envy give rise to what animated the shocktroops of Hitler's brown-shirts—rebels, but shallow ones who wound up as cannonfodder for capital's war against its real threats.

Crime and violence are immediate problems in all big cities, but they serve in many ways to obscure the foundations of violence this society rests upon. The war of all against all begins at the top where competition reigns as the supreme

what is taken as everyday business practices of which ghetto violence is both an extension and a result. It begins at the top where the erosion of the bonds of human solidarity is enforced culturally and politically; street crime is only what makes the headlines.

None of this should be taken to condemn in advance the effect uncontrollable elements could have given the context of a generalized anti-authoritarian uprising. They have played positive roles in other periods such as in the Spanish Revolution or even in the 1960s civil rights movement in the American South, but these were within a context of a struggle defined by those whose rebellious impulses encompassed both a vision of a new world (or at least a reformed one) and a code of how people should act toward one another. So, you'll have to pardon me if until the local crack dealer embraces the revolution, I don't look upon him as my comrade.

The poor in this country are white, black and Hispanic, but in the decaying Northern industrial cities they are overwhelmingly non-white. Capitalism has collapsed for these urban poor leaving millions homeless, hungry and with a devastated economic base. With no hope for a turn-around, the urban poor have virtually entered a post-capitalist stage where the

Continued on Next Page

THE PURPOSE OF SCHOOL

And his message seems to be getting through. Seventeen-year-old Lawrence Covington, a junior, says, "He's not requesting too much. 'We've got to learn to get to class on time because when we go to work we got to be on time. So this is like practice. It's a nice... It's... that some of him is...'"

Continued from Page 28

anonymous and heartless forces of the market have left them superfluous to capital.

You say my call for the poor to emerge as revolutionaries is empty and you pose rock and roll clubs as an alternative. I'd say neither will have an impact until the futile striving for entry into commodity society is relinquished by those who must realize they will be permanently denied.

What else is there for them (and for that matter, us) to do other than begin a revolutionary assault on this worthless society and the construction of a new one?

*See *Rebel Violence v. Hierarchical Violence, or Like A Summer with a Thousand Julys* from BM Combustion WCIM 3XX England; Os Canga-ceiros, Les Jardins de Provence, 3 rue Dancourt, 75018 Paris, France; John Zerzan in assorted past issues of this newspaper, e.g., "The Promise of the '80s," FE, June 1980.

[See *A Day Mournful and Overcast* by an "Uncontrollable," available from our bookservice, \$1 plus postage.

Unreal East

Dear Friends,

From Poland I am sending you greetings of the season and all good wishes for your health and happiness in the coming year!

In August somebody sent me Fifth Estate no. 2. Thanks!!! It is very interesting to read your periodical. Sometimes appear articles about east block, communist regimes, etc. I am glad of it.

Well, for me anarchy is wonderful affair, but to put it into practice is very, very difficult here. "No master, no cops, no bosses, no states, no borders. . ." still it all seems unreal in the East. "Pier-jestrojka" and "glasnost" are only slogans, appearances.

Love and Anarchy
Marek B.
Pinczyce, Poland

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GIVE CHANCE A PIECE

Continued from Page 4

people available to interfere successfully without a high degree of brute force, both because of our numbers and because they were aware we would resist.

They would have moved into a large crowd holding crowbars, tire-irons, hammers and lots of metal bolts, only having first struggled through the encircling supporters. In fact, at one point protesters—most of them in wheelchairs—blockaded and forced back a line of California Highway Patrol cruisers whose drivers were trying to come down and interrupt the "work site."

Second, the unhappy victimization of Willson, which was largely responsible for drawing 5,000-6,000 people to the rally, along with the significant national media presence, seems to have further counterbalanced the urge of Contra Costa County and the Navy to "defend property."

Tomorrow Never Knows

It is not likely that there will be many opportunities to derail the U.S. war machine in so public and festive circumstances again. In the days following September 5th, the loss of the rail-line brought increased hauling by trucks, which were protested by Nuremburg Actions from behind walls of Marines on either side of the roadway. One report told how the protesters appreciated the courtesy of the Marines who were out there "for the protection of the protesters."

On September 10, five days after our work, wage slaves had reconstructed the torn-up section of railroad at a cost of something like \$10,000.

If sabotage of the military's infrastructure is to continue, it will for now necessarily continue as more or less clandestine action. Anti-war sabotage of military property is on-going in Europe, especially West Germany, for many years now. In this they have reclaimed an element of past radical working class and anarchist struggle. (An example of this largely unknown history can be seen in the article "John Olday, Artist and Fighter for Social Revolution," in the *Angry Workers Bulletin* no. 2, c/o 2140 Shattuck Ave., POB 2200 Berkeley CA 94704.)

In the U.S., this perspective on sabotage is shared already by some activists. On the day after Willson was hit, for example, some men at a protest rally broke into and messed up the ROTC's Callaghan Hall on the UC Berkeley campus. Similarly, a week earlier, a group of women stormed into and trashed the armed forces recruiting office near downtown Oakland, leaving before the cops got there. Without a

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TO STOP A TRAIN

1. Track removal is only one element in the total strategy to interfere with the flow of weapons and obstruct U.S. military intervention in Central America (and elsewhere).
2. The more tracks removed the better.
3. The more people who participate the merrier.
4. We should respond to those who disagree with this tactic in a friendly and open manner, while our comrades continue to dismantle the track.

doubt, the idea of anti-war direct action in the States has been provided impetus by the laudable use of anti-property sabotage tactics by people connected with animal rights and eco-defense groups.

For us, anti-property sabotage is, nonetheless, essentially defensive, a delaying tactic, no matter how disruptive to the uses of the particular physical structures. Its relationship to constructive anti-capitalist social alternatives to this system of violence and exploitation is implied, but only implied.

That does not make sabotage any less legitimate. Sabotage is a rational response

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11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete: George Bradford, Business Manager.



5. This demo belongs to no one group: our movement is strengthened by diversity of actions, and by our respect for those differences.

6. We are here to continue the work in which we have all been involved, and to which Brian Willson gave part of his body, and the people of Central America their lives.

Technical Aspects of Track Removal

1. The spikes on the side of the tracks need to be pulled up. Try any and all implements, use whatever works. (Sometimes by hitting the top of the spike it can be loosened.)
2. The bolts joining one track to another need to be unscrewed. They are often rusted, and may need to be lubricated, a little oil or liquid wrench may help. Large pipe wrenches (with pipe extenders) probably work best. It may take some real muscle.
3. Remove the track. It takes about 30 people to pick them up. Question: where should we put them? Can they be permanently ruined? Perhaps sledge hammers, and then placed on the barbed wire or fences.
4. Remove wooden railway ties—crowbars, etc. and very important
5. Transform railroad beds so that they can't just put tracks back—shovels, hands, etc.

What next??? 1) keep removing track behind fence going along road. 2) remove barbed wire and march on base???

Stay calm and collective, be cool, respect diversity . . . Tear up the tracks—stop the war!!!

—from a flyer distributed at the action

to the facts and relationships of the present oppressive situation. What is demanded, however, are real resolutions of the underlying interrelated dilemmas of oppressive, unequal social relationships and neurotic, repressive psychic patterns. The vitality of anti-war direct action is only dissipated if we subjugate ourselves to conventional reformist and single-issue politics.

War against aboriginal, non-capitalist and working class peoples; statist militarization and war between competing powers are unavoidable and fundamental to the successful continuity of authoritarian, particularly crisis-ridden capitalist civilizations. Sensible and constructive fulfillment of the intent of anti-war sabotage subsists in the creation of, and advocacy for non-authoritarian forms of social self-organization, the purpose being consequential mutual aid and direct social action against domination in every facet of our lives. We initiate the passage to libertarian, communistic and ecological society together for each of us. That is the single issue, whatever our special and decisive personal interests may move us to emphasize.

—anonymous euonymous
Berkeley CA



News & Reviews

Wooden Shoe Books, 112 S. 20th St., Philadelphia PA 19103, is putting together an Anarchist Songbook and needs your favorite anarchist, protest, anti-nuke, feminist, gay, lesbian, animal liberation, BOB aVAKIAN, etc. songs for the first edition to be available in Spring 1988. And, they remind us, "Don't forget to plagiarize."

Lev Chernyi, already busy with the Columbia Anarchist League and the publication of *Anarchy: a journal of desire armed*, has announced yet another project: a proposed *North American Anarchist Review*. It would have as its purpose the increase of anarchist publications and consist of reviews of anti-authoritarian books, pamphlets and periodicals and information on anarchist publishers, book stores and distributors.

This is all in the planning stages with Lev waiting for a response to his proposal from those who would be willing to contribute reviews, help on production and assist with financing. Contact him through CAL, Box 380, Columbia MO 65205.

The Anarchist Archives Project, P.O. Box 1323, Cambridge MA 02238, has been collecting anti-authoritarian literature since 1978. It is an independent project not connected with any institution and is seeking the donation of new and old publications to add to its collection. The AA Project preparing a catalog from its 25 page list of periodicals and books and is available. We suggest a donation for printing and mailing costs.

I'm occasionally approached by people who insist politics and music don't mix. This rather dated claim once really bothered me until I noticed those complaining most about "political" music were almost always those least politically active.

Of course, there's always much debate over what and how politics fits. For those who prefer the loud pounding without the hard preaching, Angry Red Planet offers one of the strongest examples. As they tour about the country, their LP, "Little Pigs, Little Pigs," should make Detroit known as the "protest rock" capital as much as the murder capital.

Though the LP sounds almost too live—ever go to a loud rock show and miss most of the words?—the lyric sheet will fill in those few holes, like exactly how Rocky/Rambo/Stallone autoasphyxiates himself in "Rockycide."

This group stretches their solid hardcore roots with a creative driving urgency able to make even the more skeptical snarl and laugh with them. The world ac-

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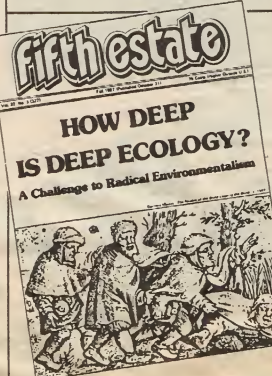


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(4 ft. long)

The FE Bookstore is located at 4632 Second Ave., just south of W. Forest, in Detroit. We share space with the Fifth Estate Newspaper and may be reached at the same phone number: (313)831-6800. Visitors are welcome, but our hours vary so please call before dropping in.

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HOW DEEP IS DEEP ECOLOGY? A Fifth Estate Special

This impassioned and provocative critique of the deep ecology perspective and Earth First! movement takes ecology to task for failing to examine its own problematic relationship with instrumentalist science and the ideologies of megatechnic capitalism, particularly nationalism and malthusianism. The failure of deep ecology to critique the social context of ecological destruction leads it to the dead end of fragmented ideology.

75 cents, 50 cents for 5 or more

THE MAKING OF THE ENGLISH WORKING CLASS by E.P. Thompson

Finally back in print after several years, Thompson shows the forgotten and suppressed history of England's explosive entry into capitalism and industrialism. The early factories were met with Luddite sabotage and resistance, almost bringing down the emerging system. Exciting reading which gives lie to the idea of "progress." "I am seeking to rescue the poor stockinger, the Luddite cropper, the 'obsolete' hand-loom weaver, the 'utopian' artisan... from the enormous condescension of posterity."—From preface. Random House 848pp \$14

TOWARD A NEW COLD WAR: Essays on the Current Crisis & How We Got There by Noam Chomsky

An account by the noted linguist and libertarian historian of the movement towards a new Cold War which has culminated in the Reagan administration's policies. He contrasts the old with newly emerging Cold Wars, and explores the changes in American global power and ideology since WW II. The essays are a panorama of America's futile violence, intellectual dishonesty and political immorality which analyzes the contradictions between establishment ideology and reality.

Random House 498pp \$10

NEW** LOMAKATSI No. 3 **NEW

Issue No. 3 continues in the fine tradition begun in the first two with a special edition on food. It is devoted to the social, political, ethical and historical aspects of food and its relationship to humans, animals, and the natural environment. Articles on fast food, recipes, Zerzan on agriculture, direct action reports, sabotage, and the gas content of farts.

Lomakatsi unpaginated \$2.00
Lomakatsi 2 also available for \$2

NEW

THE MAY DAYS: BARCELONA 1937

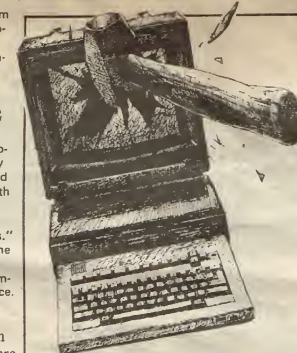
Contributions by Augustin Souchy, Jose Peirats, Burnett Bolloten & Emma Goldman (see story this issue)

Many consider the murderous, Communist Party-led assault on Anarchist positions in Barcelona to be "a minor incident in the Spanish Civil War." In reality, the armed conflict took over 500 lives—more than during the first week of the military uprising on July 19, 1937. The heroic defense of the anarchists' revolutionary gains against the physical attack by stalinism recounted from several perspectives. Those who doubt the existence of secret CP prisons in Spain for their political opponents will be interested in Emma Goldman's account of trying to visit political prisoners.

Freedom Press 128pp \$5.00

THE FUTURE OF TECHINICS AND CIVILIZATION by Lewis Mumford

Introduction by Colin Ward
This is the second half of Mumford's classic text, *Technics and Civilization*. In it he "observed the limitations the Western European imposed upon himself in order to create the ma-



SELECTED FIFTH ESTATE BACK ISSUES ON TECHNOLOGY 75 CENTS EACH

Vol. 15, No. 3—"Readers Debate Technology," "Saturn and Scientism," "On the Future of the Earth," "Against Civilization."

Vol. 15, No. 5—Special Issue on Technology: "Against the Megamachine," "Marxism, Anarchism and the New Totalitarianism," "Indigenism and Its Enemies," "Technological Invasion," "Community, Primitive Society and the State." (in xerox)

THE FREE by M. Gilliland

A fictional account of an insurrection, revolution and its suppression under circumstances not dissimilar from contemporary Great Britain. Graphic descriptions of battle, guerrilla warfare, torture and imprisonment make this novel not for the fainthearted, and yet they represent what could be expected in a real such situation. So intense in sections that it left our reviewer "looking for the door." See FE Fall 1986. Hooligan Press 142pp \$4.00

chine and project it as a body outside his personal will... We have seen the machine arise out of the denial of the organic and the living... Mumford calls for the "rebuilding of the individual personality and the collective group" in order to reorient human activity toward life. This republication celebrates Mumford's 90th birthday and Freedom Press' centenary. Mumford's work is seminal to almost all critical thought about the modern world.

Freedom Press 184pp \$7.00

SOCIETY AGAINST THE STATE by Pierre Clastres

Can there be a society that is not divided into oppressors and oppressed, or that refuses coercive state apparatuses? In this beautifully written book Pierre Clastres offers examples of South American Indian groups that, though without hierarchical leadership, were both affluent and complex. In so doing he refutes the usual negative definition of tribal society and poses its order as a radical critique of our own western state of power. "We conventionally define the state as the regulation of violence; it may be the origin of it. Clastres' thesis is that economic expropriation and political coercion are inconsistent with the character of tribal society—which is to say, with the greater part of human history."—Marshall Sahlins.

Zone Books 224 pp \$18.95 cloth

Vol. 15, No. 6—"Uncovering a Corpse: A Reply to the Defenders of Technology," "Aversion and the Dynamo," "The Pull-Back from Armageddon," "Poland at the Crossroad."

Vol. 18, No. 1—"Fifth Estate Tool of the Year: The Sledgehammer," "Pentagon War Plans On Automatic," "Notes on 'Soft Tech,'" "Primitive vs. Civilized War: Some Contrasts."

Vol. 18, No. 4—"Shoot Down All Their Helicopters: U.S. Out of the Americas," "Language: Origin and Meaning," "Newspeak and the Impoverishment of Language," "Primitive Society, Technology & the Crisis: An Exchange."

Vol. 19, No. 4—"We All Live in Bhopal," "The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism," "Birds Combat Civilization."

Vol. 20, No. 1—"In the Image of Capital: The Rise of Biotechnology (a) Biotech: The Next Wave, (b) Test-Tube People," "Bhopal and the Prospects for Anarchy," "Anarchism and the Critique of Technology," "Looking Back on the Vietnam War: History and Forgetting."

Vol. 20, No. 2—"The Machine Against the Garden: 2 essays by Fredy Perlman (A) To the New York Review of B, (B) On the Machine in the Garden."

BEYOND GEOGRAPHY: THE WESTERN SPIRIT AGAINST THE WILDERNESS by Frederick Turner

Traces the "spiritual history" that led up to the European domination and decimation of the Western Hemisphere's native peoples who were as rich in mythic life as the new arrivals were barren. Beginning with the first separation from the Wilderness in the days of the Israelites, and thus from the myths that had nurtured them and connected them with the land, and ending with Buffalo Bill's hollow triumphs over his "Wild West," Turner follows the unconscious desire in the Western invaders for the spiritual contentment they sensed in those "primitives" they encountered in their invasions.

Rutgers Press 329 pp \$12.00

NEW

NO PICNIC

A new anarchist, anti-industrial magazine, put out by a "group of friends who share essentially the same political perspectives, though we do have some differences...would like to promote an anarchistic vision of society...eliminating the state and class society and by incorporating egalitarian, non-hierarchical, ecological and feminist principles into our everyday lives...do not want to reform industrial society. Industrialism is anti-life...see the immediate need for communities of resistance to counter this onslaught...see direct action as the most effective strategy...like to emphasize the importance of the struggles of indigenous peoples everywhere."

No Picnic/Vancouver, BC unpaginated 8 1/2 x 11 50¢

SPECTACULAR TIMES: The Bad Days Will

End compiled and written by Larry Law

"The real state secret is the secret misery of daily life. Almost everything we care about has been turned into a commodity. We have to resist allowing the spectacle to define our hopes. We have to learn to play with our desires." - from the text

Spectacular Times 28pp \$1

...

VISION ON FIRE: Emma Goldman on the Spanish Revolution edited by David Porter

VISION ON FIRE is a carefully chosen collection of Emma Goldman's significant, yet largely unpublished writings from the tumultuous final four years of her life. Frankly revealed are her struggles with the deep contradictions of the Spanish Revolution of the late 1930's, her efforts to maintain personal integrity and vision within the heat of passionate involvement.

Commonground Press 346pp \$7.50

ANARCHISTS IN THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

by Jose Peirats

Written by a participant in the events of the 1930's, this volume traces the history of the anarcho-syndicalist union, the CNT, from its origins through to the Revolution. Not an apology or glorification, but a thoroughgoing analysis of the successes and failures of the anarchist movement.

Self-Published 400pp \$3.50

Lessons of the Spanish Revolution

by Vernon Richards

Just reprinted by Freedom Press, this edition contains new footnotes by the author and a review of Hugh Thomas' THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR. Richards' critical views of the revolution, the role of the CNT and FAI, and libertarian tactics, make it as controversial and valuable as it was when the first edition was published 30 years ago. Highly recommended.

Freedom Press 256pp \$5.75

LIVING MY LIFE: An Autobiography

by Emma Goldman

In this first single-volume, unabridged autobiography, Goldman follows her life from her birth in 1869 in Lithuania through her personal triumphs and failures, her political radicalism and deportation, her love affairs and personal remembrances. Johann Most, Alexander Berkman, "Big Bill" Haywood, Max Eastman, Jack London, John Reed, Lenin, Havelock Ellis and scores of others appear in this stirring account of the world's most famous anarchist.

Peregrine 933pp reduced price: \$9

AUTONOMOUS TECHNOLOGY: Technics-out-of-Control as a Theme in Political Thought

by Langdon Winner

MIT Press 336pp \$9.95

ANARCHY COMIX 1-4

All four wild, wacky and politically relevant comics done by a talented assembly of international cartoonists. Can't read thick theory? Here's the easy way.

Last Gasp all 4 issues--reg. \$9; special at \$8

MORE NEWS & Reviews

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according to ARP on "Little Pigs" (or on stage) is a world which includes us all, whether we're arguing or laughing about it. LP is available for \$7 from Angry Red Records, PO Box 9, E. Detroit, MI 48021.

—Bobby Ochs

The pamphlets, *On Organization and On Homosexuality*, are now out-of-print and can no longer be ordered from our book service. The latter was a verbatim reprint of a scandalously anti-gay text put out by the Revolutionary (sic) Union (sic), which later became the RCP. It was accompanied by a delightful rapiering of it through a use of creative graphics and quotes showing that these heirs of Stalin are as liberated sexually as the Catholic Church. The former pamphlet, by theorist/obscurantist Jacques Camatte, is a real

loss. It is one of Camatte's easier (though not easy) to understand essays and exposes all organizations as gangs within capital whose only potential is to impede revolutionary development. Anyone interested in reprinting this piece, please contact us.

We have received *Bizarro Processed World*, a handsomely done self-published pamphlet by Stephanie Klein, a former member of the *Processed World* magazine collective. Klein tells the sordid story of the racketization of an anti-authoritarian collective, its purges of its members and eventual gang war with its most vociferous critic, "the rogue elephant" of the libertarian milieu, Bob Black. While the pamphlet does not entirely clear up the events, it sheds light on them, and more importantly, raises questions about the mystique behind that closed world of theory-turned-style that characterizes much of the anti-authoritarian current and gives it its bad name. The process of questioning and reflection makes it well worth reading. Available for free from Stephanie Klein, P.O. Box 7353, Menlo Park CA 44025.

PALESTINE

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Israeli government officials continue to insist, and openly, that force is the only way to quell the outraged protests and continuing disturbances spurred on by Palestinian youths: force (i.e., abuse, violent repression) is, in their words, the only language the Arabs understand. In the next breath they demand to speak only with "legitimate" Palestinian community "leaders" when they themselves know that no such leadership has been allowed to exist in the occupied territories, that these people have been consistently killed, imprisoned or deported and their bases of influence methodically destroyed.

Palestinian Destiny Forced into a Nationalist Solution

The state of Israel is once again faced with the prospect of negotiating with the

PLO which has had no controlling handle whatsoever on the progress or operation of the present uprising.

And Palestinians, even those who may be distrustful of the machinations of state power and want only to remain on their lands and maintain their communities, are forced into a nationalist solution; they are forced to put their destiny into the hands of the PLO because, as a political entity capable of articulating a state compromise in the language of power, it has become the only organized body formidable enough to challenge the Zionist state. One wonders then if a "democratic" Palestinian state will be modelled after the "democratic" Zionist state of Israel. Certainly, if ever given any degree of self-determination, the US and Israel will control its destiny.

It is, of course, the US that will ultimately "aid" in this process and certainly with its own economic gain or survival in mind. Israel receives \$4 billion in aid yearly from the US which thus finances the majority of Israel's defense budget. The US is intricately tied and seriously implicated not only in the recent events in the occupied territories but in the already long history of that government's repressive policies used against the Palestinians. Because of these ties, these crucial implications, it has been to the immediate advantage of both governments to keep the American public both confused and ignorant about the daily reality of the Palestinian people for so long. But Palestinian outrage is now so overwhelming and so widespread that the media censors cannot contain it. And, too, the weakened economic base of the US market has allowed some sacred cows to at least be openly challenged, however weakly.

So the plight of the Palestinians has finally, after so many years of humiliation and degradation, received a modicum of attention in this country. One would think that public outrage here would match that in Israel, where massive demonstrations have taken place. There are some letters written to the editors of newspapers, journalistic debate over the ethical or tactical mistakes of Israeli policy (debate which never questions the legitimacy of the Zionist state), and a few small demonstrations; but at this jun-

bits

Continued from Page 3

On Jan. 28, a 3-judge Federal Appeals Court panel—all Reagan appointees—upheld the conviction of Wisconsin draft resister Gilliam Kerley for failing to register. However, the court criticized the harsh 3-year prison term and \$10,000 fine imposed on Kerley by Judge John Shabaz, and sent the sentence back to him for reconsideration.

Kerley, the executive director of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD), has already served four months of his sentence which is the maximum term suggested by the new U.S. Sentencing Commission guidelines. Judge Shabaz' stiff sentence for Kerley was the longest sentence given a draft resister since Vietnam and in many ways is a testimony to the effectiveness of CARD in alerting young men to alternatives to draft registration.

Kerley's appeal comes at a crucial time, as calls for a new draft grow louder from Presidential candidates and in Congress. Donations are urgently needed for Kerley's legal/political defense; send to CARD, 731 State St., Madison WI 53703. The group's newsletter is also available from the same address.

Omori's Appeal Denied

Katsuhisa Omori, the political prisoner on Japan's death row, had his execution affirmed Jan. 21 in what is supposed to be his final appeal. Omori was arrested in 1976 for the bombing of a Hokkaido government office in support of native peoples. A guilty verdict was returned in his trial even though it was admitted that the evidence was circumstantial against him. Omori has been kept in solitary confinement for the last 11 years. Demonstrations in support of him were held world-wide in December, and demands for his release will increase with news of his impending execution.

—from *Ecimedia Bulletin*, Toronto's anarchist bi-weekly, Box 915, Sta. F, Toronto, Ont. M4Y 2N9, Canada

ZIONISM IN THE AGE OF THE DICTATORS

by Leni Brenner

Brenner searches through the Zionist record and finds evidence that it sought the patronage of avowed anti-Semites and, ultimately, the collaboration of the fascists and Nazis.

Lawrence Hill & Co. 277pp (hbk) \$8.95

FE special issue on Palestine including "Anti-Semitism & The Beirut Pogrom" by Fredy Perlman; 1982. Plus two 1983 issues with an exchange on Israel: \$2

ture, all the criticism seems to be allowed for, and it escapes through the steam vents needed for the machine to endure a particularly trying period and keep functioning with all its moving parts in place. The longstanding mis-treatment and torture of Palestinians, the historical sacrifice imposed on them for the survival of a Zionist state, demands the impassioned indignation of us all if this horrible cycle of state-sanctioned racism is ever to end.

—Lynne Clive

BACK IN STOCK

STRIKE! by Jeremy Brecher

An exciting history of mass labor insurgency from 1877 to the present. No dull workist account, but showing movements of workers unrestrained by union, state and capital as having the potential for authentic revolution.

South End Press 330pp \$9

PALESTINE: Legacy of Conquest

Having consistently destroyed organized Palestinian political and military resistance to Zionist colonial conquest, Israel must now contend with what is fast becoming a massive and generalized civil revolt.

The number of Palestinians killed by Israeli soldiers in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip over the past several months of sustained protest approaches 100. After years of obfuscation and U.S. media silence on the plight of the Palestinian people, we now read daily descriptions of Israeli response to the ongoing protests that rivals and even surpasses state violence in South Africa: gunfire attacks on demonstrating youths, systematic night raids on Palestinian camps and villages, indiscriminate beatings, tear gas and rubber bullet attacks, deportations, censorship, overcrowded and inhumane prisons, mass jailings.

These are the official policies and "legitimate" tactics used by the "democratic" Zionist state against the indigenous population in the occupied territories, and in spite of the impression created by the sudden media attention in this country, they are not new policies or atypical tactics.

Israel's response to its world-wide bad press and the timid U.S. criticism that it should implement more "humane" methods of riot control has been to beef up its military presence in the occupied lands as well as to adopt a few of the suggested modern crowd control methods (while continuing to use live ammunition in many demonstrations). Young people are also being beaten to death and shot with rubber bullets as the streets are filled with noxious gas that causes white welts on people's skins (most of it made in Fredericksburg PA). Several people have died from asphyxiation when the canisters were thrown into their homes: a five year old baby, an 82 year old woman; and there have been at least twenty cases of pregnant women who, after being gassed, have delivered dead babies.

A History of Blatant Aggression

It seems a strange occurrence to see top-line media mention of Palestinian suffering at the hands of the Israelis after years of conscious neglect. Since Israel's

foundation, there has been no critical media attention given to its most blatant acts of aggression, perpetrated with the intent of clearing the land of Arabs; for example, the 1948 massacre in the village of Deir Yassin, in which, under the command of future Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, Zionist commandos killed 250 defenseless Palestinians (more than 100 of them women and children).

According to Noam Chomsky (in *The Fateful Triangle*, 1983), about 700,000 Palestinians fled or were forcibly expelled in the 1948 Israeli war of conquest of the U.N.-proposed Palestinian state. As Israeli wars continued (always posed as "self-defense"), thousands more Arab citizens of Israel were expelled from the Galilee region in 1956 during the Israeli attack on Egypt (a fact fairly recently revealed by former Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin who estimates that 3,000 to 5,000 Arabs were deported by the army into Syria at that time). Many of these people had previously been removed to make way for an Israeli water diversion project. Hundreds of thousands fled or were forcibly expelled from their homes throughout and after the 1967 war. Chomsky refers to a W.W. Harris estimate that of a pre-war population of about 1.4 million, approximately 430,000 left or were forced from their homes from June to December 1967.

During the 1967 war of conquest which left Israel in control of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, countless atrocities were committed by the Israeli army. Chomsky quotes *New York Times* correspondent Kennett Love (whose stories were often censored or distorted in publication) who states that at least 275 Palestinians were killed upon Israeli capture of the Gaza Strip, and that 111 more Palestinians were killed in an Israeli massacre at the Rafah Refugee camp.

In the 1978 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, 2,000 Palestinians and Lebanese were killed, and 250,000 became refugees. The number of Palestinians and Lebanese killed in the 1982 invasion of Lebanon varies from source to source, but Lebanese police estimated that between June and August of that year 19,085 Palestinians and Lebanese were killed (6,775 of them in Beirut, and 84% of them civilians).



Top: traditional pre-planting ceremony on Palestine's harshest soil. Above: a Palestinian child in front of her West Bank village. photo/R. Cook

On the tail of the Israeli invasion came the phalangist massacres at the Sabra and Chatila Palestinian refugee camps outside of Beirut, massacres allowed to take place by Israeli troops stationed outside of the camps, massacres facilitated by these troops who, under top Israeli orders, prevented people from escaping the camps and turned them back to certain death.

Tabitha Petran (in *The Struggle Over Lebanon*, 1987) provides the staggering statistics that were made available by the respected Israeli journalist Amnon Kapel-iouk after a careful and detailed investigation: between 3,000 and 3,500 people were killed in the massacres, 700-800 of them Lebanese and the rest Palestinians.

Hundreds of Eyes for an Eye

Over the past twenty years there have been countless Israeli incursions into southern Lebanon, almost always with the pretext of retaliation for some PLO "terrorist" attack and always killing a much larger number of Palestinians and Lebanese than the number of Israelis killed in the PLO action.

There have of course been Israeli deaths as well, yet they are so disproportionate that one sees the Israeli understanding of the biblical dictum "an eye for an eye" as "hundreds of eyes for an eye."

Tabitha Petran states that "in the fifteen years following the June 1967 war, in which it [Israel] seized and retained an area three times larger than the Israeli state itself, the Israeli army killed at least 10,000 Palestinians and Lebanese, most of them civilians inside Lebanon. In the same period, according to Israeli sources, 282 Israelis were killed by the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)."

The recent events in Gaza and the West Bank are unique in this long history of confrontation and bloodshed only in that the riots, demonstrations and acts of rebellion have continued for so long: they are unique in that this time the rioters seem to have the upper hand for, as has been repeated recently in the mainstream media, their interminably impoverished and imprisoned situation leaves them with little or nothing to lose. What is not at all new or unique is the severity of the inhumane retaliatory measures used against protesting residents of the occupied lands not only by the Israeli military and police but the religious settlers and their vigilante groups as well.

Settlers in the Gaza Strip are small in number, but highly organized, financially supported and well armed by the Israeli government. They, along with the army and the police, are guilty of innumerable acts of violence against Palestinians, many of which are documented in both the Hebrew and the Palestinian press, by Amnesty International, in publications of the Peace Now movement, and in other alternative publications within Israel, such as "The Other Israel" (put out by the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace). In spite of such documentation, very few if any of these atrocities have been mentioned over the years in the mainstream U.S. media.

It has, however, recently been acknowledged in the U.S. media that Jewish settlers are suddenly "taking the law into their own hands" which suggests that this is a new phenomenon brought about by the extenuating circumstances of the rioting. But the settlers in the occupied territories long ago adopted abusive treatment of Arabs as a matter of course and found religious justification for their actions in their own laws and sacred teachings. As early as 1891, Jewish writer Ahad Ha'am wrote upon visiting Palestine, that settlers "treat the Arabs with hostility and cruelty, deprive them of their rights, offend them without cause and